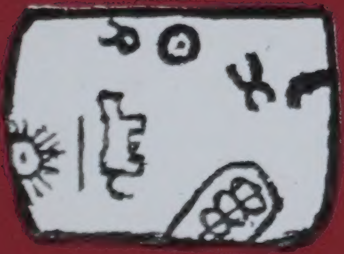
COINS AND CURRENCY SYSTEM IN KARNATAKA

Dr. A. V. NARASIMHA MURTHY



DIRECTORATE OF ARCHAEOLOGY & MUSEUMS IN
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Government of Karnataka

COINS AND CURRENCY SYSTEM IN KARNATAKA

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AS A TOKEN OF FRIENDSHIP
TO
Dr. I.K. SARMA
Director, Salar Jung Museum
Hyderabad

FOREWORD

The numismatic wealth of Karnataka is gradually unfolding itself because of the researches of many scholars. Right from the time of Lewis Rice, this Department has been taking interest in bringing to light ancient coins. However, it was Dr. M.H. Krishna who made a significant mark as a numismatist by his researches on Deccan numismatics. In addition to this many others have been contributing to enrich the coin heritage of Karnataka.

Under this background the present work assumes great importance. It is the only work on the subject to examine the coinage right from its origin to the present. It deals with the development of Karnataka Coinage and Currency system in a comprehensive manner through the various dynasties. Making use of epigraphical and literary data to understand the system of currency is a unique feature of this work. Most of the coins are illustrated with good drawings which enhance the value of the work to students, scholars and even general readers. Thus the learned author has presented an up to date history of Karnataka Coinage.

The author Professor A.V. Narasimha Murthy is well known to the world of scholars in Indology. In recent years he has been concentrating on numismatics and the result is this scholarly history of Karnataka Coinage. We are grateful to him for permitting us to publish this book under this Directorate.

We are thankful to The Comptek Computer for DTP work. We thank Dr. V. Prakash, Director, CFTRI, for accepting to print this work. Sri K.A. Ranganath, Head, FOSTIS and S. Umesh, Technical officer, have taken up the printing of this work. Our thanks are due to them.

We hope that this scholarly work will be warmly received by one and all.

Mysore
2-4-1997

Dr. D.V. Devaraj
Director of Archaeology
and Museums

PREFACE

It is gratifying to note that numismatics is slowly attracting young researchers, collectors and even common people. Thus there has been a general awareness regarding the coin heritage of our country. This is easily reflected at the research level also as evidenced by a large number of new coins published in learned Journals, such as *Numismatic Digest, Studies in South Indian Coins* and *JNSI.*

The present work is a revised and enlarged version of my earlier work *The Coins of Karnataka* published two decades ago. There was a great demand from the numismatists as well as coin collectors for this book. Hence I decided to update the material and also add some aspects of currency system by making use of the epigraphical data on the coinage of Karnataka. Thus it has a completely new look. I have added the coins of the feudatory chiefs as well as some miscellaneous coins which have a bearing on Karnataka. For the sake of clarity five maps have been added.

A work of this type, necessarily has to depend upon the researches of various individuals, organisations and publications. I have generously drawn on the researches of many scholars, both veterans and youngsters. I have acknowledged them either in the text or in the footnotes. However, I should like to specially mention the names of scholars P.L. Gupta, Ajay Mitra Shastri, I.K. Sarma, B.N. Mukherjee, S.J. Mangalam, D.G. Angal, Mukunda Prabhu, Girijapathy, Ganesh, A.H. Siddiqui, P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, S.G. Dhopate, Bhandare, P.V. Radhakrishnan and Sohanlal Sisodiya. But for the inclusion of the researches of these scholars and others mentioned in the text, this work would not have become up to date. I gratefully thank all of them. Unfortunately I could not make use of the excellent work on Vijayanagara Coins by Girijapathy and Ganesh. I advise my readers to refer to this work for many new coins of this dynasty.

D.V. Devaraj, Director of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Karnataka has been kind enough to publish this work. M/s. Geetha Book House, Mysore have facilitated the publication of this book. I have received kind suggestions from Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri, I.K. Sarma and K.V. Raman. Line drawings of the coins have been prepared by K.L. Venkatesh and Dr. H.R. Raghunatha Bhat. H.M. Nagaraja Rao has helped me in correcting the proof besides preparing the Index. This work was DTP composed by The Comptek Computer Systems. K.A. Ranganath, Head of FOSTIS and S. Umesh Technical Officer of CFTRI, Mysore have printed this volume in an excellent way. I express my grateful thanks to all of them. I hope this volume will further the cause of Karnataka numismatics.

25-3-97 Dr. A.V. Narasimha Murthy
Mysore.

CONTENTS

Foreword v

Preface vii

Abbreviations xi

I. Introduction 1

II. Punch-marked Coins 25

III. Mahārațhi and Chuțu Coins 45

IV. Sātavāhana Coins in Karnataka 60

V. Roman Coins in Karnataka 72

VI. The Coins of the Kadambas of Banavāsi 91

VII. Coins of the Western Gangas 97

VIII. The Coins of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi 103

IX. Rāshțrakūța Coins 114

X. The Coins of the Chālukyas and Kalachuris of Kalyāņa 119

XI. The Coins of the Hoysaḷas 141

XII. The Coins of the Sēvuņas of Dēvagiri 160

XIII. Coins of the Kadambas of Goa and Hāngal 182

XIV. Coins of the Āḷupas 199

XV. Coins of the Feudatory Chiefs 207

XVI. Coins of Vijayanagara 221

XVII. Coins of Keḷadi Nāyakas 306

XVIII. Bahmani Coins 312

XIX. Adil Shahi Coins 341
XX. Barid Shahi Coins 350
XXI. Coins of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan 356
XXII. Coins of the Waḍeyars of Mysore 379
XXIII. Miscellaneous Coins 406
Select Bibliography 430
Index 436

ABBREVIATIONS

ASR : Archaeological Survey Reports

BMCA : British Museum Catalogue of Andhra Coins

EC : Epigraphia Carnatica

EI : Epigraphia Indica

IA : Indian Antiquary

IIRNS : Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies

JASB : Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

JBBRAS : Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JNSI : Journal of the Numismatic Society of India

JRAS : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

Ka Sa Pa Pa : Karnataka Sahitya Parishat Patrike

MAR : Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department

ND : Numismatic Digest

Pramakole : Prachin Koriv Marathi Lekh

QJMS : Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

SSIC : Studies in South Indian Coins

SMHD : Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan

Vij.Ins : Vijayanagara Inscriptions

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The story of Indian coinage forms a brilliant and interesting chapter in her cultural history going back to a period at least five thousand years from the present. Right from the day, the coin originated here, various developments have been taking place in technology, typology, legends, deities, weights and size and shapes. Each dynasty and even each king contributed in some measure to this development. This contributed to a bewildering and rich variety of coins in gold, silver, copper, and other metals. In spite of this vast material, numismatics has not attracted the attention of scholars and students to the same extent as other branches of Indology such as epigraphy, art and architecture. However, it has to be noted with some satisfaction that the position is slowly changing for the better with scholars and collectors taking more interest in this subject. Coin Societies and Associations are being established in different parts of the country and they are educating the common man of the numismatic heritage of the country. In the past, scholars like Prinsep, Rapson, Smith, Elliot, Tufnell, Henderson, Altekar, Agrawala, Brown, A.K. Narain, P.L. Gupta and others took great interest in bringing to light our coin heritage. In recent years, Ajay Mitra Shastri, B.N. Mukherjee, Lallanji Gopal, A.N. Lahiri, K.K. Dasgupta, A.V. Narasimha Murthy, I.K. Sarma, R. Krishnamurthy, B.C. Chattopadhyaya, Macdowal, Mitchiner, Satyamurthy, Rajareddy and others have been contributing greatly for understanding different aspects of Indian coinage. This is a welcome trend indeed.

Comparatively South Indian numismatics is a further neglected subject of study. This is not due to the paucity of coins but scholars are not entering into this field in good numbers as it involves laborious hard work. As Nilakantha Sastri has rightly put it" the coinage of South India presents greater difficulties to the student and offers less reward for his labours than that of the North".[1] The same comment holds good for Karnataka also.

Though Mysore was one of the earliest among the States to establish a Department of Archaeology on a sound basis, numismatics does not seem to have received enough attention. Epigraphy was the main concern of the Department of Archaeology in Mysore State till we come to the period of M.H. Krishna, who initiated a systematic study of the coins of Karnataka. One of the early books on the coins of Karnataka was *A Brief Sketch of Gold, Silver and Copper Coinage of Mysore* written by Hawkes in 1856. The credit for compiling a valuable history of coins in South India, however, goes to Sir Walter Elliot, a great numismatist. His work, *Coins of Southern India,* formed a part of the famous series *Numismata Orientalia* and was published in 1884. Elliot treated the whole of South India and Deccan as a unit and commented upon the coins of each dynasty of the Deccan and illustrated them with beautiful photographs. This study comprised the coins of many dynasties of Karnataka. Though the coins included in this work are not numerous the book formed a basis for future work on the subject.

In 1883 G. Bidie published a pamphlet on coins in which he included, among others, the coins of the Chālukyas, Vijayanagara kings and Mysore Waḍeyars.

Edgar Thurston published a catalogue of coins belonging to Mysore State, which were exhibited in the Madras Government Museum. This publication of 1888, though useful in many ways, is confined only to the coin collection in the Museum. Next year, i.e., 1889, under the instructions of the Government of the Maharaja of Mysore, R.H.C. Tufnell compiled and published a catalogue of Mysore coins in the collection of the Government Museum, Bangalore. As a catalogue of a museum collection, this work also has certain limitations, and gives only a partial picture.

The discovery of Roman coins in Bangalore heralded a new era in the interpretation of the early history of Karnataka. B.L. Rice, promptly, made a study of these coins and brought out their significance. This work of Rice, published in 1891, showed the interest of Rice in numismatics also.

The British scholars, however, evinced a more lively interest in the study of the coins of Tipu Sultan and Hyder Ali. In 1909 R.P. Jackson published his monograph *Coin Collecting in Mysore.*[2] Jackson travelled from village to village in Mysore area and collected a large number of gold, silver and copper coins. He published them in this monograph. His work includes mostly the coins of Tipu and Mysore Waḍeyar dynasty. His other work, *Coin Collecting in Deccan* (1990), contains some information on Bahmani coins. His third work, *Some Copper Coins Issued by the English East India Company and Other European Powers in Southern India* (1909), also contains some useful information.

Henderson's *Coins of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan* (1921) is an important work on the subject. He has made a thorough study of the varied aspects of Tipu's coins. Probably it is the most exhaustive and systematic study of Tipu's coins. *The Coins of Tipu Sultan,* published by G.P. Taylor, is a small monograph (1914) which deals with some aspects of Tipu's coins.[3]

R. Narasimhachar during his explorations came across many coins of ancient and medieval Karnataka. He published them in the pages of the *Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department,* 1908-1921. Most of these studies deal with coins of Vijayanagara kings, Chuṭus, Sātavāhana kings, Mysore Waḍeyars, Hyder and Tipu.

M.H. Krishna who had specialised in Deccan numismatics began taking greater interest in the coins of Karnataka. The *Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department,* published while he was its editor, contain many articles on coins of the Hoysaḷas, Chālukyas, Sēvuṇas, Rāshṭrakūṭas, Kadambas and Vijayanagara kings. In fact, these reports form the basis for a regular and systematic study of the coinage of Karnataka for the pre-Muslim dynasties.

The Numismatic Society of India has been serving the cause of Indian numismatics to a great extent. Started in the year 1910, the Numismatic Society has been publishing a journal which contains articles on various aspects of Indian numismatics. The Society also publishes occasional monographs on Indian numismatics. Thus it is rendering great service to studies and research in Indian numismatics.

Though the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* is of an all-India character, occasionally we find articles on Karnataka coinage included in it. There are a large number of articles on the Sātavāhana coins in the pages of this journal, mostly published by Rama Rao, Mirashi, Altekar and others. M. Rama Rao has also published studies on the coins of the Ānandagōtra kings[4] and also of the Mahāraṭhis[5] who were the feudatories of the Āndhras. Altekar has published some coins of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[6] M.G. Dikshit has made a special study of the coins of the Kadambas of Goa in many articles.[7] G.H. Khare has also studied them.[8] Coins of the Sēvuṇas have been studied by Altekar, M.G. Dikshit and A.V. Narasimha Murthy.[9]

The coins of the Āḷupas have been studied by M.M. Prabhu.[10] P. Gururaja Bhatt has added one or two more coins to the list by his discoveries.[11] There are a large number of articles on the coins of the Vijayanagara dynasty in the various volumes of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*[12] They add considerably to our knowledge of Vijayanagara coins. Occasional articles have also appeared on the coins of the Mysore Waḍeyars in the same journal.[13]

Coins of the Muslim dynasties also have been studied in the pages of this journal. Among them the coins of the Bahmanis have been studied in greater detail.[14] Some articles have also appeared on the coins of the Barīd Shāhis and Adil Shāhis in the same journal.[15]

All the research papers published in the above journal by A.V. Narasimha Murthy have been collected and published under the title *"Studies in Karnataka Numismatics",* 1996.[16]

The founding of the South Indian Numismatic Society in 1990 is an important landmark in the development of studies in South Indian Coinage. It has already published six volumes of its annual journal titled Studies in South Indian Coins edited by A.V. Narsimha Murthy. Among others they contain many articles on different coins of Karnataka of which Sātavāhana, Chālukya, Hoysaḷa, Vijayanagara and Mysore Waḍeyar are noteworthy.[17]

Numismatic Digest is another important journal dedicated to the cause of Indian numismatics. Originally, published by the Numismatic Society of Bombay, this journal is now published by the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies under the editorship of P.L. Gupta, the veteran numismatist. It has already published 17 volumes which contain some interesting articles on the coins of Karnataka.[18]

Rarely we find articles on Karnataka coins in the volumes of *Indian Antiquary, Journal of Indian History and the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.*

The Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Department has published individual monographs on the coin collections in the museums. Those which have relevance to our subject may be noted here. R. Subramanyam's, *Catalogue of Yadava Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Museum* (1965), is an important work which deals with the coins of the Sēvuṇa dynasty.[19] *Bahmani Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Museum* by Abdul Wali Khan is a very important work for the study of coins of the dynasty.[20] Though it is a catalogue of coins, the author has discussed the various problems of the Bahmani coins in this monograph. Rama Rao's *Select Gold and Silver Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Museum* deals with some Western Chālukya and Vijayanagara coins.[21] *Catalogue of Vijayanagara Coins* by N. Ramesan is also an important work which deals with the Vijayanagara coinage in a detailed manner.[22] Abdul Wali Khan's work on Qutb Shāhi coins is exhaustive and deals with the subject in a thorough manner.[23] Thus the Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Department is rendering good service to the cause of Karnataka numismatics.

Very rarely we find articles in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Indian Antiquary, Journal of Indian History and Proceedings of the Oriental conference,* by such great scholars as Heras, R.S.R. Iyengar, Sreenivas and others which have some relevance to Karnataka coinage. Apart from these articles in journals and early publications which incorporate information on the coins of

Karnataka mention should be made of some important books. A.S. Altekar's *Coinage of the Deccan* surveys in brief the Sātavāhana, the Chālukya, Rāshṭrakūṭa, Kadamba and other coins.[24] Though this is a very brief survey, it takes into consideration the published materials available on the coins of the various dynasties. C. Hayavadana Rao also has written a chapter on the numismatics of Mysore State incorporating all the available information.[25]

Among other publications mention must be made of Allan's *Catalogue of Coins* and V.A. Smith's *Coins of Ancient India.* Smith's work contains some chapters which deal with the coins of the Chālukyas, Kadambas, Vijayanagara, Mysore Waḍeyars and others.[26] T. Desikachari's *South Indian Coins* is also an important work in which there are some chapters where the coins of the Chālukyas and Vijayanagara are discussed.[27]

Two more works on Vijayanagara coins have to be mentioned here. The first one is the *Catalogue of Vijayanagara coins in the Madras Government Museum* by N. Shankaranarayana.[28] The other work is by A.V. Narasimha Murthy titled *Coins and Currency System in the Vijayanagara Empire*[29] published by the Numismatic Society of India. *Coins and Currency System in South India* by B.D. Chattopadhyaya is another important work in which the coinage upto the Hoysaḷa period has been treated in detail.[30]

The various archaeological excavations conducted in Karnataka have also yielded coins of different dynasties and in many cases they have been highly useful in dating the cultures associated with them. The excavations at Chandravaḷḷi yielded datable Roman *Denarii,* coins of the Sātavāhanas, the Chuṭus, the Mahārațhis and a solitary silver punch-marked coin.[31] The excavations at Banavāsi[32] and Vaḍagāon Mādhavpur[33] have yielded punch-marked coins in the early historic levels. In the excavations at Maski were discovered medieval and early coins.[34] Recent excavations at Aihoḷe and Paṭṭadakal by S.R. Rao have brought to light Sātavāhana coins.[35] Excavations at historical sites in Karnataka are bound to yield many more coins of different varieties not known till now.

In spite of all these publications and explorations, the fact becomes clear that a systematic survey and study of the coins of Karnataka have not been undertaken so far. The museums at Mysore, Bangalore, Dharwar, Hyderabad, Bombay and other places contain good many specimens of Karnataka coins. Unless catalogues of such coins are compiled and published, the picture of the numismatic wealth of Karnataka would not be complete. The concerned museums, big and small, should pay greater attention to this problem.

ANTIQUITY OF INDIAN COINAGE

Before we consider the earliest coins of Karnataka it is necessary to know the early coins of India. The problem of the earliest coins in India is very complicated and many diverse opinions have been expressed by competent scholars. Thus there is no single opinion among the scholars regarding the origin and antiquity of coinage in India.

Let us examine the evidence available for the presence of coinage in the Rigvedic period. D.R. Bhandarkar is an early champion of the indigenous origin of the Indian coinage. According to him "......the coined money must be considered to be existing in India as early as the middle of the third millennium before Christ."[36] It is a well-known fact that cow formed the wealth in the Vedic society. There are numerous references in the Samhitas which mention the exchange of cows for the desired goods. However, we come across the word *Nishka* in the Vedic period which has been generally taken to mean an ornament, preferably a necklace, and a gold coin. That gold was known to Rigvedic Aryans is borne out by many references to that metal in the Rigveda. Gold in the form of dust, and also melted ingots, is referred to as *Hiraṇyapiṇḍa* in the Rigveda. The Rigveda mentions *Khāḍi, Rukma, Karṇaśōbhana, Nishka* as gold ornaments which were in use during the period. That *Nishka* was the most popular one among them can be attested to by the large number of references to it in the Samhitas. Now the question is whether *Nishka* was just a necklace or a coin. From the various references that we get in the Rigveda it becomes clear that *Nishka* was primarily a gold coin and the necklace made of such gold coins was also called *Nishka.*

Manufacturing necklaces out of gold coins (i.e. stringing together gold coins) is an ancient practice in India and this practice has survived even to this day.[37] Hence there is no improbability in the practice of the Rigvedic Aryans preferring to have necklaces made out of gold coins. Whenever gifts are referred to in Rigvedic hymns only *Nishkas* are mentioned and not other ornaments such as *Khāḍi, Rukma, Karṇaśōbhana.* This makes it clear that *Nishkas* were not mere ornaments but objects of some definite value which were given as gifts. King Bhavya is said to have given to sage Kakshīvat ten *Nishkas.*[38] In another passage a poet is stated to have received one hundred *Nishkas.*[39] Arguing on the basis of similar references in the Rigveda, Bhandarkar states "We need not, therefore, be surprised, if we find from the Rigveda that both *Hiraṇyapiṇḍas* and *Nishkas,* i.e., unstamped and stamped money, were current at one and the same time."[40] But Altekar is of the opinion that *Nishkas* were not coins in the modern sense of the term but only pieces of gold of recognised value and weight.[41] Whatever may be the exact significance of the word *Nishka,* it becomes clear that the concept of coinage in a rudimentary form was known in the Rigvedic period. There is a great divergence of opinion regarding the chronology of the Rigveda. On the basis of the arguments of Winternitz, Bhandarkar assigns 2500 B.C. as the date of the Rigveda. Even on a highly modest estimate 1200 B.C. could be accepted as the date of the beginning of Rigveda. Hence, the origin of Indian coinage could easily go back to that period.

From the age of the Rigveda, we can pass on to the later Vedic period. The later Vedic period in which were composed the later Samhitas, the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads also provides us with good evidence of the prevalence of a system of coinage more advanced than the one that was prevalent in the Rigvedic period. The word *Nishka* occurs in Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, and probably it denoted, as in the earlier period, a piece of gold of known weight and value. In addition to *Nishka,* the later Vedic literature refers frequently to *Survarṇas, Śatamānas* and *Pādas,* which are undoubtedly gold coins. *Survarṇa,* in the later period, was a coin equal to 80 rattis or 144 grains in weight. It is quite likely that in the later Vedic period also *Suvarṇa* had the same weight and connotation. *Śatamāna* was another gold coin generally mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads. Probably it weighed 100 rattis or 175 grains. One of the passages makes it clear that the *Śatamāna* was definitely a gold piece of circular shape. Generally, *Śatamāna* was a very popular coin recommended for payment of *dakshiṇā* to priests in sacrifices. probably it ensured a life of one hundred years for the giver or the performer of the sacrifice. *Pāda* as the name itself suggests must have been a smaller gold coin, probably one-fourth of a *Nishka, Suvarṇa* or *Śatamāna.* When we examine the contexts in which these words *Nishka, Śurvarṇa, Śatamāna* and *Pāda* occur in later Vedic literature, the fact becomes clear that they were generally given by kings to priests as *dakshiṇā.* Hence, it is quite likely that they were manufactured under the orders of the kings by whom these gifts were made, in the State treasury. Of course, we are not in a position to ascertain their nature and form. Another word *Krishṇalā* also figures in the literature of this period. But it has been taken to represent a weight and not a coin. Probably, in addition to gold coins mentioned above, gold bars were in circulation from which small pieces were cut and given in smaller transactions. If the literature of the later Vedic period is dated to 1000-800 B.C., it becomes clear that during this period there was a definite improvement in the sphere of coinage and new coins were in circulation.

When we come to the post-Vedic period references to regular coinage become numerous in the literature of the period. The various Sutra texts, the Buddhist Jātakas, Tripiṭakas and the work of Pāṇini give us a glimpse into the coinage of the period. By the very frequent references to gold coins in the literature of the period, it becomes certain that gold coins were becoming more and more common during the period. The Jātaka stories mention *Nishka* as a gold coin. In the *Bhūridatta Jātaka* it is said that a snake-charmer used to earn a hundred *Nishkas. Vessantara Jātaka* refers to a ransom of a thousand *Nishkas.*

In *Kuhaka Jātaka* a cunning monk is stated to have stolen a hundred *Nishkas.* The *Vinayapiṭaka* states that the entire Jētavana was covered by *Nishkas* by Anāthapiṇḍaka. *Māshaka* as a gold coin is mentioned in *Udaya Jātaka.* Probably *Māshakas* were small gold coins, one sixteenth of a *Suvarṇa.* These Buddhist sources, which represent the condition of society around 400 B.C., testify to the common usage of gold coins mentioned above.

Pāṇini, the author of the Sanskrit grammar, *Ashṭādhyāyi,* furnishes very important and authentic information regarding the early Indian coinage. Though there is no unanimity among scholars on the date of Pāṇini, many scholars would place him in the fifth century B.C. Pāṇini mentions not only gold coinage but also coinage of silver and copper. This is a definite advance in the evolution of early Indian coinage. Pāṇini refers to transactions made for two or three *Nishkas* for which he gives special terms like *dvinishkam* and *trinishkam.* A possessor of one hundred and one thousand *Nishkas* was referred to by Pāṇini as *Naishka-Śatika* and *Naishka-Sahasrika.* Though the word *Survarṇa* does not occur in Pāṇini's work the same is implied in many *sutras.*

Pāṇini mentions the coin *Śatamāna.* In all probability, this was a silver coin.[42] Perhaps as a gold coin it must have gone out of use by this time. The silver *Śatamānas* weighed 100 rattis. Agrawala identifies these *Śatamānas* as the same as the bent bar coins found at Takshashila.[43] *Sāṇa* is another silver coin mentioned by Pāṇini. He refers to transactions of 1½, 2 and 3 *Sāṇas* and Patanjali adds *Pancha Sāṇa.* In some contexts *Sāṇa* is referred to as a weight also. But Agrawala is positive that *Sāṇa* was a very popular silver coin of the period and it was one-eighth of a *Śatamāna* as mentioned by the *Mahābhārata.* So the weight of a *Sāṇa* was twelve and a half rattis or 22.0 grains.[44] *Māsha* is a small silver coin mentioned by Pāṇini. It was also a copper coin. Silver *Māshas* have come to light in the Bhir mound hoard. They weigh 2-3 grains and measure 0.2 inch in diameter.[45]

Another silver coin which Pāṇini mentions is *Kārshāpaṇa.* This was one of the most popular coins of the period. Bhandarkar has devoted a whole chapter of his work to the consideration of the significance of this coin. According to him, *Kārshāpaṇa* was the name of a coin which was minted in gold, silver and copper. He finds nothing unusual in the prevalence of the coin of the same type in three different metals. *Kārshāpaṇa* is generally identified with the punch-marked coins which have been found throughout the country including Karnataka. The coin *Kārshāpaṇa* was called so because it weighed one *kārsha.* Though Manu and others do not explain the word *Kārsha,* commentators explain it as equal to one-fourth of a *paṇa* and on this basis we can fix the weight of a *Kārshāpaṇa* as 80 rattis. In many cases the word *Purāṇa* is also used as a synonym of *Kārshāpaṇa. Kārshāpaṇas* are frequently mentioned in the Buddhist literature also as coins used for even very small transactions.

Pāṇini mentions not only the *Kārshāpaṇa* but also its fractions such as half *Kārshāpaṇa, Pāda Kārshāpaṇa* (one-fourth), one-eighth *Kārshāpaṇa* and one-sixteenth *Kārshāpaṇa.* These divisions more or less conform in weight to the actual specimens of punch-marked coins found in India. these specimens, therefore, provide the corroborative evidence for the prevalence of coins mentioned by Pāṇini. In this context we have to mention the name of Sir Alexander Cunningham who was one of the early scholars to study this problem.

Among the copper coins mentioned by Pāṇini, reference should be made to copper *Kārshāpaṇas, Māshas* and coins of *Viṁśatika* series. The last category included in it *Dvi-Viṁśatika, Viṁśatika, Ardha-Viṁśatika* and *Pāda-Viṁśatika.* From these various references to gold, silver and copper currency in the work of Pāṇini, it becomes more than clear that coinage had been established on a very sound and systematic basis during this period. At least a couple of centuries must have been required for Indians to evolve this system and hence the beginnings of coins must go back to earlier periods.

Finally, we shall examine one more ancient text, i.e. *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya which provides very important data on the coinage of the contemporary period. Kauṭilya mentions *Lakshaṇādhyaksha* as the head of the department of mints. His duty was to test the purity of and symbols on the coins. In this connection, he also mentions *rūpya rūpa* and *tāmra rūpa* which mean silver and copper currency. Kauṭilya mentions that silver coins were manufactured of an alloy containing one-fourth part of copper and the other three parts, other metals. Further, he refers to four types of silver coins, *paṇa, ardha-paṇa, pāda* and *ashṭabhāga.* From the contexts in the *Arthaśāstra,* it seems that another coin, *Shōḍaśa-bhāgika,* also existed. Among the copper coins which were minted in the State treasury, Kauṭilya refers to *Māshaka, Ardha-Māshaka,* and *Kākani.* *Kākani* was one -fourth of the coin *Māshaka.* There is, however, a difference of opinion among scholars regarding the presence of gold currency in the period of *Arthaśāstra.* Shamashastry and others are positive that gold coinage is referred to by Kauṭilya as he used the word *Suvarṇa, Hiraṇya,* etc. but others like P.L. Gupta and S.C. Ray do not accept that *Suvarṇa* and *Hiraṇya* are used by Kauṭilya in the sense of coinage.

Kauṭilya also prescribes penalties for the manufacture of counterfeit coins *(Kūṭarūpa).* From these references in the *Arthaśāstra,* it becomes quite clear that coinage was the right of the State and during the Mauryan period there was a highly evolved system of coinage. From this we may assume that the pre-Mauryan period must have provided the required evolutionary stage for the Indian coinage.

Though there is such strong evidence for the indigenous origin and development of Indian coins, some scholars of the early period chose to support the foreign origin of Indian coins. Now, these opinions are useful only as academic theories. In fact, D.R. Bhandarkar went as far as to attribute motives to the opinions of these scholars. He says, "...is it not absurd to asseverate that the Hindus learn the use of coinage from foreigners? Does it not clearly indicate that such an *ipse dixit* has been prompted by nothing but the propensity of attributing everything useful or clever in Indian art to an extraneous origin"[46] Let us, however, examine them in a nutshell.

H.H. Wilson and James Prinsep were the early scholars who postualated a Greek origin for Indian coins. Wilson asserted that "the currency of the country consisted chiefly, if not exclusively, of lumps of gold and silver not bearing any impression, until the Hindus had learned the usefulness of money from their Bactrian neighbours, and from the commerce, especially with Rome."[47]

From this it becomes clear that Wilson was not prepared to accept *Nishka, Kārshāpaṇa, Suvarṇa, Śatamāna* and other terms which are met with in the Vedic age as referring to regular coins but as simply lumps of gold without having any impression. According to him they were no coins at all.

James Prinsep, another champion of the Greek theory, also agreed with Wilson at first in every detail. He also doubted the nature of the coins that are met with in the Vedic period. Subsequently he changed his opinion to a certain extent. He agreed that the Vedic people had knowledge of the coins of some rudimentary type but not regular die-device coins. He stated that Indians had an indigenous currency long before the Greeks came to India but it "may be assumed that adoption of a die-device or of coined money, properly so called, by the Hindus"[48] came into being from the time the Greeks entered India. Unfortunately, James Prinsep compared the coins of the Audumbara chief, Dharaghōsha, with those of the Greek coins and hastily jumped to the conclusion mentioned above. He and Wilson completely ignored the punch-marked coins which were in good circulation throughout the country, even long before the Greeks entered India. Had the Indians imitated the currency of the Greeks, at least there would have been some similarities between the two. On the contrary, a comparison between the earliest punch-marked coins and the Greek coins would reveal striking dissimilarities between the two. The Greek coins are round in form but the punch-marked coins are square, rectangular and irregular in shape. The Greek coins conform to the Attic standard but the Hindu coins do not. The Greek coins generally have inscriptions on them but the punch-marked coins have never shown any inscriptions on them. The Greek coins generally contain a portrait of the king on the obverse and a Hellenic deity on the reverse. Punch-marked coins do not contain any bust or any deity. Generally, the punch marks are found on one side of the coin only and these punched devices are Hindu in character and not taken from Greek mythology or literature. Thus there is no similarity between the Greek and the punch-marked coins.

Quintus Curtis provides some evidence in regard to the existence of silver coinage before Alexander's invasion of India. Alexander was presented by the King of Taxila with a gift of eight *talents* of *Signati argenti.*[49] This has been interpreted by all scholars as silver coins. Obviously Indians could not have learnt the minting of these coins just at the time of Alexander's invasion.

Further, the Bhir mound punch-marked coins clinch the issue without any doubt. These punch-marked coins could not have been buried before 317 B.C. In the hoard are seen double-struck punch-marked coins which on any account must have been minted atleast three centuries earlier than the date of the hoard. This shows that punch-marked coins were widely circulated many centuries before the Greeks came to India. On the basis of these evidences, we can dismiss the Greek origin of Indian coins as fully untenable.

Another theory which emphasizes the foreign origin was propounded by James Kennedy.[50] According to him the punch-marked coins of India were imitations of the Babylonian originals as India had trade contacts with Babylon as early as sixth century B.C. Vincent A. Smith also supported this theory.[51] Kennedy argued on the basis of the similarities between Indian punch-marked coins and Babylonian punched coins called *Shekels.* Both are punched and bear no inscriptions or busts of kings or divinities. Both are flat and similar in shape. But there are many differences between the two which Kennedy and Smith did not consider. The punched symbols on Indian and Babylonian coins are completely different and have no relation whatever to each other. There is a great difference between their weight standards. The Indian punch-marked coins weigh 56 grains whereas the Babylonian *Shekels* weigh 132 grains. So far no Babylonian *Shekels* are found in India. This proves that they could not have been so influential as to provide models for Indian punch-marked coins. Only merchants who were in Western India had a knowledge of Babylonian *Shekels.* The Babylonian *Shekels* cannot go back to beyond the sixth century B.C., whereas the Bhir mound punch-marked coins can go back to still earlier periods. These arguments would prove that the Babylonian theory is also not convincing.

There is another theory put forward by the French scholar, Decourdemanches, and supported by Allan. According to the former, "the punch-marked coins, whether of silver or copper, constitute simply a Hindu variety of Achaemenid Persian coinage. The latter does not differ from the former except in impression.[52] While supporting this view Allan states, "It is very possible that the idea of coinage came to India in the late fifth or early fourth century B.C. from Achaemenid territory, being suggested by the *Sigloi,* although its character is entirely Indian."[53] But a closer examination of the punch-marked coins disproves this theory also. The shape, the size and the symbols of the Persian *Sigloi* are completely different from the punch-marked coins. The earliest punch-marked coins had originated in Central India and by fifth or sixth century B.C., the Achaemenian influence had not yet penetrated to that region. The normal weight of a *Sigloi* was about 86 grains whereas a punch-marked coin weighed 56 grains. Under these dissimilar conditions of these two coinages, it cannot be said that one depended on the other. Thus all the three theories which propound a foreign origin of Indian coinage stand rejected and this rejection is supported by Rapson,[54] Edward Thomas,[55] Alexander Cunningham[56] and others.

Before concluding this section, it is necessary to refer to Indus valley civilisation and examine if this civilisation has anything to contribute to the origin of coins in India. Unfortunately this aspect has not been examined in detail by most of the scholars. K.N. Dikshit recognised a silver vase at Mohenjodaro excavations which contained some jewellery and some silver pieces which by external appearance looked like punch marked coins.[57] On the basis of this similarity he concluded that these were the coins used by the people of Mohenjodaro and they were the precursors of the punch-marked coins of the later period. Even D.D. Kosambi agreed with this but stated that atleast three of these silver pieces were coins.[58] Recently, B.N. Mukherjee has re-examined this problem and according to him all these pieces except two were silver coins.[59] In shape and size they resembled the punch marked coins of the later period. They actually belong to the last phase of the Indus Civilisation and hence it can justifiably be assumed that these were the earliest silver coins and provided the required inspiration and model to the makers of the punch marked coins.

This leaves us with two options with regard to the origin of Indian coinage. The first one is the rudimentary punch marked type of coins of Mohenjodaro variety which belonged to the last phase of the Indus civilisation. The second option is that the punch marked coins were the earliest coins and they might have been in use around 1000 B.C. or even earlier. Further researches or new discoveries alone will be able to help us to arrive at a firm conclusion in this regard.

TECHNOLOGY OF MINTING COINS

The various techniques adopted in minting coins in India have to be understood mostly with the help of the coins themselves as no complete literary work dealing with the coin technology has come to light. Occasionally inscriptions refer to some aspects of minting but they do not provide a complete picture of the various processes involved. On the basis of the different coins found in India, five techniques seem to have been used here. They are;

1. Droplet technique
2. Punch mark technique
3. Casting technique
4. Repousse technique
5. Die-striking technique

We may examine each one of these techniques briefly.

In the droplet method the silver or any metal was melted and a drop was put on a hard surface and it was stamped when the silver was still in semi-molten condition.[60] This produced a circular or irregular crude coin and this must have been the earliest technique. Sometimes pressing hard, the coin became cup-shaped and it was slightly beaten to make it flat. Still it retained the low saucer shape. The bent-bar coins or wheel marked coins were manufactured by the same technique. The blanks were made into long strips of one to three inches in length and a punch of wheel was stamped at both the ends which made the coins slightly bent. This type of coins has been found in Takshashila excavations and they have been known as bent-bar punch marked coins on the basis of their shape and technique. They are believed to be the earliest punch marked coins and actually earlier than the sheet metal punch marked coins.

Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* provides some interesting details regarding the manufacture of punch marked coins.[61] He mentions two officers *Lakshaṇādhyaksha* and *Rūpadarśaka;* the former was the head of the minting operations while the latter was responsible for the correct weight and required fineness of the metal. The metals *(lōha)* were melted in crucibles *(mūsha)* under the charcoal fire *(angāra)* by using bellows *(bhastra);* the molten metal was purified by adding alkalis *(kshāra);* they were hammered *(mushṭika)* and finally clipped *(sandamsa)* into small pieces and kept on an anvil *(adhikarṇi)* and symbols were made *(bimba ṭanka).* This resulted in punch marked coins. The thin sheets were cut into small pieces of the exact weight and if any piece weighed more, a small piece was cut off so that it conformed to the exact weight. This resulted in giving different shapes to these coins. In other words, the weight decided the shape of the coin. Thus after the preparation of these blanks they were slightly heated and with the help of dies which contained one symbol, the blank was punched.; the same procedure was repeated for another symbol. Thus for a coin with five symbols this process was repeated five times with different punches or symbols. Obviously this formed the obverse of the coin and the reverse remained blank. Later some minute symbols were punched on the reverse also with the same method.

A large number of terracotta moulds have been discovered in various parts of the country which by their shape, size and symbols seem to have been used for manufacturing punch marked coins. This shows that casting method was also adopted in the preparation of the punch marked coins. Terracotta moulds of punch marked coins have been found at Mathurā, Eran, Kānchipuram, Koṇḍāpur, Sisupalagarh and many other places. The Kānchipuram excavations yielded a mutilated grey mould which had two square and three round matrices connected by a narrow channel.[62] As the matrices have no symbols, it may be construed that they were meant to manufacture blanks of the reverse. However, in another matrix some symbols like sun and bull were seen. Obviously this was meant for the obverse of the coin.

The Mathura mould is circular with a diameter of 2.35". Both sides of the mould have been found which contain sockets for five punch marked coins.[63] There is a V shaped notch through which the molten silver was poured and this notch had channels leading to five sockets of the coins. These sockets bear the impressions of pre-Mauryan and Mauryan punch marked coins. The mould found at Sisupalagarh is also circular but also has eleven sockets connected by a main channel.[64] Of them three are round, four are almost square, two are rectangular and the remaining two are irregular in shape. The moulds from Koṇḍāpur also belong to this category and one of them had as many as fifteen sockets of different sizes and shapes to mint punch marked coins. Such moulds have been found in recent years at many other excavations also.

As is well known, the punch marked silver coins of the Mauryan and pre-Mauryan type were produced by the technique of sheet metal and punching with separate dies and not by casting. At this period casting technique had not yet developed for minting coins. With the emergence of the new casting technique punch marked coins might have been manufactured by casting technique instead of the cumbersome technique of the earlier period. As the punch marked coins were in extensive circulation, they might have been prepared on a mass scale by the casting technique. But many scholars have argued that these moulds were prima facie the equipment of the counterfeit coin makers. Whatever might have been the case, these moulds suggest the popularity of and demand for the punch marked coins in the early centuries of the Christian era.

With the disintegration of the Mauryan empire, a large number of independent States came into existence and they preferred the casting technique to the cumbersome punch mark technique. This technique had a distinct advantage that all the symbols could be adjusted in a single mould and could be minted at one time. Use of a single mould was the first step in this direction. This single mould had two pieces with a notch at both, each having all the symbols or legends of the obverse and reverse. One piece represented the obverse and another had the symbols of the reverse and they were joined together and the molten metal was poured into it by the notch and after cooling a single coin with obverse and reverse came into being.

In course of time it was felt that producing a single coin from a single socket mould was very slow and was not suitable for mass production of coins. Hence they devised a new type of mould which can be called multiple coin mould. The principle involved is the same. But instead of one coin socket the mould contained any number of sockets depending upon the size of the coin and the mould. In the centre was the main notch or the opening through which the molten metal was poured and all the coin sockets had connecting channel so that the liquid metal would reach all the coin sockets. Any number of such coin sockets would be placed in a big clay vessel and molten metal was poured throughout the top opening. This resulted in manufacturing a large number of coins at one time and thus was suitable for mass production of coins. Sahani who has made a special study of these moulds from Rohtak, Attranjikhera, Sanchi, Sunet, Kasi, Nalanda, Khokrakhot etc has stated that these moulds are comparatively more efficient than the Roman moulds.[65] The excavations at Kanchipuram have given evidence of a mould with two sockets of different symbols for minting the Sātavāhana coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.[66] Both the sockets are connected by a channel. The Yaudhēya coin mould had eight sockets interconnected like the spokes of a wheel. The Nalanda and Kasi moulds were used for preparing Gupta gold coins. The Khokrakot mould was used for minting *Ardhoksho* type of Kushāṇa coin of Huvishka. The Sānchi mould was used for minting coins of the Western Kshatrapas. The Banavāsi agate mould[67] and the Talkāḍ terracotta mould were meant for minting the coin of Roman emperor Augustus or Tiberius.[68] In Kannaḍa and Tamil inscriptions the word *acchu* is seen and it meant a coin mould and consequently any coin minted through a mould came to be called *acchu,* as in the case of *hēmācchu, Lokkiacchu, navilacchu* etc. From the context in which these moulds have been found at different places, it becomes clear that the casting technique was most popular during the period from second century B.C. to sixth century A.D.

Another technique of minting coins which did not become quite popular was the Repousse technique. A sharp and bold metal matrix of a coin was prepared first and this was pressed against a thin gold blank which produced a repousse type of coin of one side only. In some instances a similar reverse was also produced and both of them were joined together. Such coins were minted by kings of South Kosala region comprising of Chattisgarh and Bastar regions and slowly it spread to Vidarbha and Orissa in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.[69] Śarabhapurīya kings Mahēndrāditya, Kramāditya and Prasannamitra and the Nala kings Varaharāja, Bhavadattarāja, Arthapatirāja, Nandanarāja and Stambharāja are known to have issued Respousse type coins.

Die-striking technique or double die-striking technique was the most advanced technique of minting coins which was adopted throughput the centuries including the ancient, medieval and modern periods. Coin blanks of required size, shape and weight were prepared by using the multiple blank moulds. Metallic dies of obverse and reverse were separately prepared in the negative so as to give a positive impression. These dies were engraved by expert goldsmiths who were proficient in the art of portraying gods, goddesses, animals, legends etc. Then the obverse die was fixed to the anvil and the reverse die was embedded to a long bar easy to handle. The metal blank in heated condition was placed on the anvil over the die and hammered strongly. The force was enough to produce a coin with an obverse and reverse. Often the position of the coin blank changed slightly and this resulted in the legend or the symbols going out of the flan of the coin. This is particularly true of the copper coins of Vijayanagara, Sultanate and Mughal periods. Most of the dynasties like the Indo-Greeks, Kushāṇas, Guptas, Sātavāhanas, Hoysaḷas, Vijayanagara kings, Hyder, Tipu, Mysore Waḍeyars, Mughals used this double die-striking method for minting coins.

Inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa confirm the practice of die-striking technique that was in vogue. There was a royal mint at Suḍi in Bijapur which was controlled by the mint-master Uttavōja under king Vikramaditya VI.[70] The mint-master had the previlege of owning the die *(kammaṭada āṇi)* which had the royal seal *(unḍige)* for striking the coins. Actually he was the custodian of this apparatus. Another inscription mentions minting apparatus such as *acchu* (mould) *āṇi* (die), *acchina kāṇi* (type) and *acchina moḷe* (nail).[71] It also refers to *chaukaṭṭukāras* (trimmers of the coins). Remains of ancient minting apparatus have also been found rarely. In Assam along with copper coins of Mleccha dynasty was found broken brass minting machine which was used for minting these copper coins.[72] A minting machine made of iron belonging to the time of Tipu Sultan has been noticed. Another machine to mint Keḷadi coins had been noticed at Nagar.[73] All these attest to the popularity of the die-striking technique. Thus using these various techniques successive kings and dynasties minted coins from the earliest times to the modern period. It is proposed to examine these coins as far as they relate to Karnataka in following chapters which it is hoped will bring out the numismatic personality of Karnataka.

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38. 'Satam Rajno nathamanasya nishkan.'
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CHAPTER II

PUNCH-MARKED COINS

The Punch-Marked Coins, without any doubt, constitute the most extensive monetary system of ancient India. This coinage was so extensive and widespread that hoards of these coins have been reported practically from all parts of India. Many numismatists have been specially attracted by these coins and their researches have been extremely useful in knowing the significance and typoloy of these coins. Walsh,[1] Theobold,[2] Spooner,[3] Allan,[4] Cunningham,[5] Hemmy,[6] Kosambi,[7] Durga Prasad,[8] P.L. Gupta,[9] V.S. Agrawala[10] and others have done valuable research in unravelling the mystery of punch-marked coins. In spite of very extensive research many problems connected with punch-marked coins have not been solved and hence this currency is still enigmatic in many respects.

The term, punch-marked coin, has been in use among numismatists to denote small pieces of flat silver and copper which are punched with symbols. As the symbols were punched on them, they have been referred to as punch-marked coins as opposed to die-struck coins. Sheets of silver were cut into required shape with the help of a chisel and marks were punched on them later. One feature which astonishes the modern numismatist is the irregular shape of these punch-marked coins. They can be seen in all possible shapes, such as square, octagonal, oblong, oval, circular, rectangular, bar type and irregular. Probably, the weight of each coin decided the shape. If a piece weighed a grain or two more than the standard requirement, probably, the edge was clipped off to bring it to the standard weight. This is borne out by the fact that oblong, square, rectangular, irregular coins of the same weight were current in the same area during the same period. Thus these coins cannot be grouped or arranged on the basis of their size and shape.

The punch-marked coins do not contain any inscription or figure but contain various symbols. These punched symbols are the most important aspects of these coins. Formerly it was believed that these symbols were punched in a haphazard way on these coins by the persons who issued them. But patient and sustained research by Durga Prasad, Walsh and others proved beyond doubt that these symbols were punched in a regular way and in an order. Though several hundreds of marks have been noticed on punch-marked coins, one would notice at once a regularity in punching them. Hence it could be postulated that there must have been some central authority which regulated the punching of these marks. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, it is expressly stated that minting coins was a duty of the state. So it could be presumed that these punches were mainly the marks of the State and not of individual moneyers through whose hands the coins passed.

It is also known that certain Republics, Gaṇas, Janapadas, Local bodies etc., also had the privilege of minting coins. To this list we may add the guilds of merchants also. Hence, some of the marks seen on these coins must have been punched by these republics and guilds.

Arthaśāstra mentions the *Rājānka* or the mark of royalty. Pāṇini mentions *Sanghānka* or the mark of the Sangha. This could be taken to represent the mark of an elected body. This mark was used on coins as long as this particular elected body was in office. If this elected body forfeited the confidence of the electorate and lost power, the marks of this body were discontinued and in their place the new mark of the newly elected body used to be punched. In the Buddhist text, *Visuddhimagga,* it is stated that a good *shroff* was able to distinguish the various marks on the coins. He could detect the marks that represented the village, town, mountain, river bank and the mint master. The coins discovered at Besnagar show the punch-mark of a river in a prominent way. This river may be taken as Vētrāvati.[11] In the *Mahābhārata,* it is said that the bull was the mark of the Brihadratha dynasty of Magadha. Hence, the coins in which bull is seen prominently may be taken as belonging to the Bṛihadrathas of Magadha.

In such of the coins as bear five punch-marks, Walsh would ascribe them to five different categories.[12] The first mark represented the State; the second the king or the local government; the third stood for the place or area; the fourth symbolised the religion and the fifth mark might have been that of the master of the mint.

Theobold divided the various punch-marks into six classes as follows:[13]

1. Human figures such as Agni etc.
2. Implements and works of man such as stūpas, bow, arrow, etc.
3. Animals - bull, elephant, horse, goat, dog, etc.
4. Tree, branches or fruit: with railings, supporting chatra, umbrella etc.
5. Symbols connected with solar planets or Śaivite worship, linga, triśūla etc.
6. Miscellaneous and unknown symbols.

Thomas divided them, however, into four categories as follows:[14]

1. Heavenly bodies such as Sun.
2. Man and animals.
3. Home life such as plough, cups, vases, bows etc.
4. Imaginary devices such as Chaitya, tree etc.

Whatever may be the classification of these symbols, there is a regularity and order seen in them. Spooner attributed this regularity, to the central authority.[15] Fabri studied the symbols of the punch-marked coins and compared them with those of the Indus Valley seals.[16] From his study he noticed a similarity between the two. In his opinion a number of pictograms and symbols of the prehistoric period were current long before the Aryan invasion and this coinage is a survival of the prehistoric civilization. A.S. Hemmy supported the above conclusion, but he compared the weight standard of both the punch-marked coins and the Indus Valley weights.[17] The animals on the coins have been taken by some to have some connection with totems of tribes or clans. Though Cunningham was a pioneer in the study of the punch-marked coins his opinion that the symbols on the punch-marked coins are Buddhistic in character has become out of date.[18] It was once very widely accepted, and now the latest researches have proved it to be wrong. Stūpa, chakra, elephant, hill, railing etc., were no doubt used in Buddhist art but there is nothing to show that they were exclusively of that faith.

In the beginning only one side of these coins was punched with symbols and the other side remained blank. In course of time this blank side also came to be stamped with punched marks. For the sake of convenience and study the side which originally contained punch-marks which were prominent also is called the obverse and the blank side is referred to as the reverse. Generally the marks on the obverse are punched deeper and hence they seem to be more prominent than the marks on the reverse. The obverse punches seem to have been stamped when the metal piece was in a heated condition whereas the marks on the reverse were stamped when the coin was in circulation.[19] That may be the reason why the reverse punches are not as deep and distinct as those on the obverse.

The obverse and reverse punch-marks have been distinguished and it is generally believed that the obverse marks are the marks which determine the issue of a coin. Durga Prasad[20] thinks that most of these small and indistinct reverse symbols which are seen on a large number of punch-marked coins are the 'test-marks' put by the *Rūpadarśakas* after testing the weight and fineness of the coin. Some of these marks may be those of the guilds. But it looks extraordinary that the guilds would have taken the trouble to mark every coin when there was already an official system of testing and marking the coins. In some cases these test marks are put on the obverse itself by mistake. Walsh also agrees with Durga Prasad in this respect. He writes, "They were the private marks of bankers or money changers through whose hands the coins passed, as a mark of their having tested its weight or fineness in case the coin came into their hands again or for the information of the others."[21] Because they are the marks of the guilds and money testers their number and diversity is very great. Cunningham takes these marks as the symbols of their names. The sun may represent Sūryadās or elephant may stand for Gajasingh and the soldier may represent Vīradēva etc.[22] Of course, there is no way of checking or confirming the opinion of Cunningham, though the explanation seems to be plausible. It is also likely that some of the symbols of the animals marked on the reverse may represent the totemic nature of the tribes of clans. Some geometrical signs have been taken to represent Brāhmi letters and they may represent the initial letter of a personal name.

Durga Prasad compared these marks with the tantric symbols and found great similarity between the two. The *chakra, ashṭakōna, panchakōna, vṛitta* etc., of the punch-marks are identified by him as the *Bījamudrās* of tantric texts as exemplified in *Kālīvilāsa tantra.*[23]

As we have already seen there is a regularity in the obverse marks of these punch-marked coins. There is a fixed group or combination of these marks which could be easily noticed on most of the hoards of the punch-marked coins found all over the country. In the Taxila hoard, studied in detail by Walsh, there are four constant marks and the fifth mark varies. From this it becomes clear that coins containing the same group of punched symbols belong to a particular area. Of the innumerable signs, the six armed symbol and the sun are to be seen on almost all the coins in the Taxila hoard. It is also possible to detect minor variations in the same symbol itself. The six armed symbol may be seen in about ten different varieties. Walsh identifies certain symbols as indicative of the authority who issued them. The elephant which can be taken as the vehicle of Indra may stand for sovereignty. The bull may represent the Śaivite religion. The tank may represent the area where the coin was minted or was in circulation. Another feature Walsh notices is that some punches are worn out whereas others look fresh or less worn out. When the coin was issued first, it had only the obverse and the reverse was blank. Gradually when the symbols became worn out the blank reverse of the first issue became the obverse for the second reissue. The worn out obverse of the first issue became the reverse for the second issue. Thus in some cases double obverses can be seen though there is a difference between the distinctness of the symbols on both the sides.

Kosambi who introduced mathematical and statistical methodology into the study of this problem came out with certain identification of the symbols on the punch-marked coins.[24] According to him the regularity of the punch-marks represents the dynasties and the kings who issued them. Thus he arranges the coins not only on the basis of the obverse marks but even on the reverse marks. According to him the reverse marks belong to traders who were closely connected with banking and even coin manufacturing dealings. In some cases the coins were manufactured by traders and other guilds with their punch-marks and they became legal tender after the punch-marks were put on them by the royal authorities. He argues on the basis of a coin where there are only reverse marks and the obverse is blank. Even the name of a coin *paṇa,* Kosambi argues, is derived from *vaṇik* i.e., trader. Hence he concludes that the earliest coins were the issues of the traders and the government stepped in later. He treats both the reverse and obverse marks as independent.

In the obverse where there are five marks, the first four in a group represent the king and the fifth punch stands for the issuing authority such as a crown prince, governor, minister etc. On this basis he attributes those coins wherein the fourth symbol is Caduceus to Maurya king Asoka. For the Śiśunāga dynasty, he takes *śiśu* or pup as the dynastic symbol. So the coins which contain regularly the punch of the pup on a hill as belonging to Śiśunāga dynasty. He arranges such coins where the first three symbols are identical. The fifth of a series becomes fourth in another series. Such coins, in his opinion, show father-son relationship. The Mauryas are known to have had connections with peacock. So the coins where the peacock is seen are ascribed to the Maurya dynasty. Between the coins he ascribes to Mahāpadma and the Mauryas no other coins seem to have been issued. This would show that the coins of Mahāpadma were restruck with the Mauryan symbols. This also shows the violent change of the dynasty. So the Peshawar hoard which contains the coins of Mahāpadma are counterstruck by the Mauryan 'Cresent on arch' punches.

On the basis of the punch-marks it has been possible to identify them as earlier local issues and later imperial coins meant for circulation through the country. Almost all numismatists agree that the Mauryas issued the so called universal punch-marked coins for circulation in the entire country. Punch-marked coins with a particular group of symbols have been reported from the various parts of the country. The local issues are confined to some geographical localities. Śurasēna, Gandhāra, Malla, Pānchāla, Kōsala, Āndhara, Kalinga etc., issued the so called local varieties. The coins of these states differ from one another in weight, symbols, quality of metal and even size.

The chronology of the punch-marked coins is also a vexed problem and generally it is believed that these coins were in circulation from abut 900 B.C., to the early centuries of the Christian era. Probably their manufacture stopped sometime by the first century B.C.[25] P.L. Gupta who has made a special study of the punch- marked coins has examined a large number of hoards of punch-marked coins in India has arranged them in a chronological order. According to him pre-Mauryan punch-marked coins belong to two different periods i.e., the early period and the later period. The early pre-Mauryan punch-marked coins contain animal symbols as their class mark whereas the later variety has the hill symbol as their class mark. There is also a difference in their size and fabric. The early pre-Mauryan punch-marked coins are generally thin, broad, circular or elliptical or of irregular geometric shape. Usually they would be 1" to 0.9" x 0.75" to 0.7". The later pre-Mauryan punch-marked coins are more geometric in shape, mostly square or rectangular and very few are round. They are thicker than the early ones and their size is 0.6" to 0.75" x 0.45" to 0.6". With the advent of Mauryan imperialism, certain changes took place in the coinage. Before the Mauryan features stabilised in coinage there was a period of transition. The Mauryan punch-marked coins show distinct features. Punching tiny symbols on the reverse was given up and a new practice of punching bold reverse marks came into existence. The fourth symbol of the obverse shows some definite relation with its reverse symbols. The peacock on hill now becomes the dominant symbol. The post-Mauryan period coinage does not show great change in fabric. But the absence of the crescent on the hill symbol and the lack of any conformity of the reverse symbol with the fourth symbol on the obverse gives us the clue that they are post Mauryan. This chronological sequence of P.L. Gupta is generally followed.

The punch-marked coins are known to ancient writers as *Kārshāpaṇas, Māshas,* and *Paṇas.* From the known literary texts the following table of punch-marked coins has been tabulated by V.S. Agrawal who has studied this problem in great detail.[26] He distinguishes three different series of silver punch-marked coins on the basis of their weight namely *Śatamāna, Vimśatika* and *Kārshāpaṇa* series, and two series of copper punch-marked coins namely *Vimśatika* and *Kārshāpaṇa* series:

Śatamāna Series (Silver)

Śatamāna	100	rattis
Ardha Śatamāna	50	rattis
Trisāṇa	37.5	rattis
Pāda Śatamāna	25.00	rattis
Pādārdha Śatamāna on Sāṇa	12.5	rattis
Ashṭabhāga Śatamāna or Ardha Sāṇa	6.25	rattis

Vimśatika Series (Silver and Copper)

	Silver	Copper
Tri-vimśatika	120	-
Dvi-vimśatika	80	200
Vimśatika	40	100
Ardha Vimśatika	20	50
Pāda Vimśatika	10	25

Kārshāpaṇa Series (Silver and Copper)

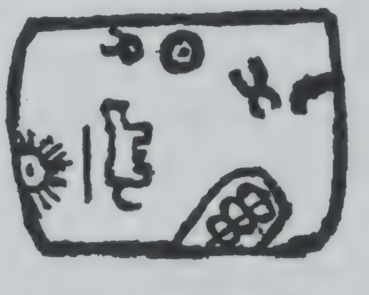
	Silver	Copper
Kārshāpaṇa (Prati)	32	80
Ardha Kārshāpaṇa	16	40
Pāda Kārshāpaṇa	8	20
Ashṭabhāga Kārshāpaṇa	4	-
Trimāsha	-	15
Māshaka	2	5
Kākani	0.05	1.25
Ardha Kākani	0.25	0.623

The North Indian punch-marked coins were in circulation in South India including Karnataka. From the available evidence, it also seems likely that the punch-marked coins discovered in Karnataka and South India travelled from North India. No evidence is so far available for the manufacture of punch-marked coins in Karnataka. As parts of Karnataka were included in the Mauryan empire, it is quite likely that the imperial Mauryan punch-marked currency was in use here also. Let us now examine the punch-marked coins found in Karnataka.

Krishna has described nineteen silver punch-marked coins which were in the Mysore State Archaeological Department. Of these nineteen coins, fourteen were already there and the remaining five were presented by a trading company of Madras.[27] Krishna does not mention the locality where these coins were found. Hence there is no means of knowing the place of occurrence of these coins. By the symbols it could be easily identified that they were of the Mauryan punch-marked variety. From the weights it could be easily said that they belong to *Kārshāpaṇa* series. One *Kārshāpaṇa, half Kārshāpaṇa* and *quarter Kārshāpaṇa* are represented in this hoard. The weight of the *Kārshāpaṇa* in this hoard varies from 52.6 grains which is the highest to 43.4 grains (lowest). *Half Kārshāpaṇa* is represented by five specimens.[28] The highest weight of *half Kārshāpaṇa* in this collection is 28.4 grains whereas the lowest one weighs 23.8 grains. There are two specimens belonging to *quarter Kārshāpaṇa* variety.[29]

Some of these coins have a blank reverse. Among the obverse mark Sun, Peacock, Bull, Elephant, Chaitya are seen frequently. There are also Caduceus and Taurine symbols.

Another set of eleven silver punch-marked coins have been described by Krishna.[30] They were obtained from Dharwar. Most of them are rectangular in shape and their weight ranges from 46.5 grains to 50.2 grains. They are *Kārshāpaṇas.* All the coins have punches on both the obverse and the reverse. The obverse generally contains five symbols of which the solar symbol, hill, bull, svastika and frog are very common. These coins belong to Mauryan and post-Mauryan periods.



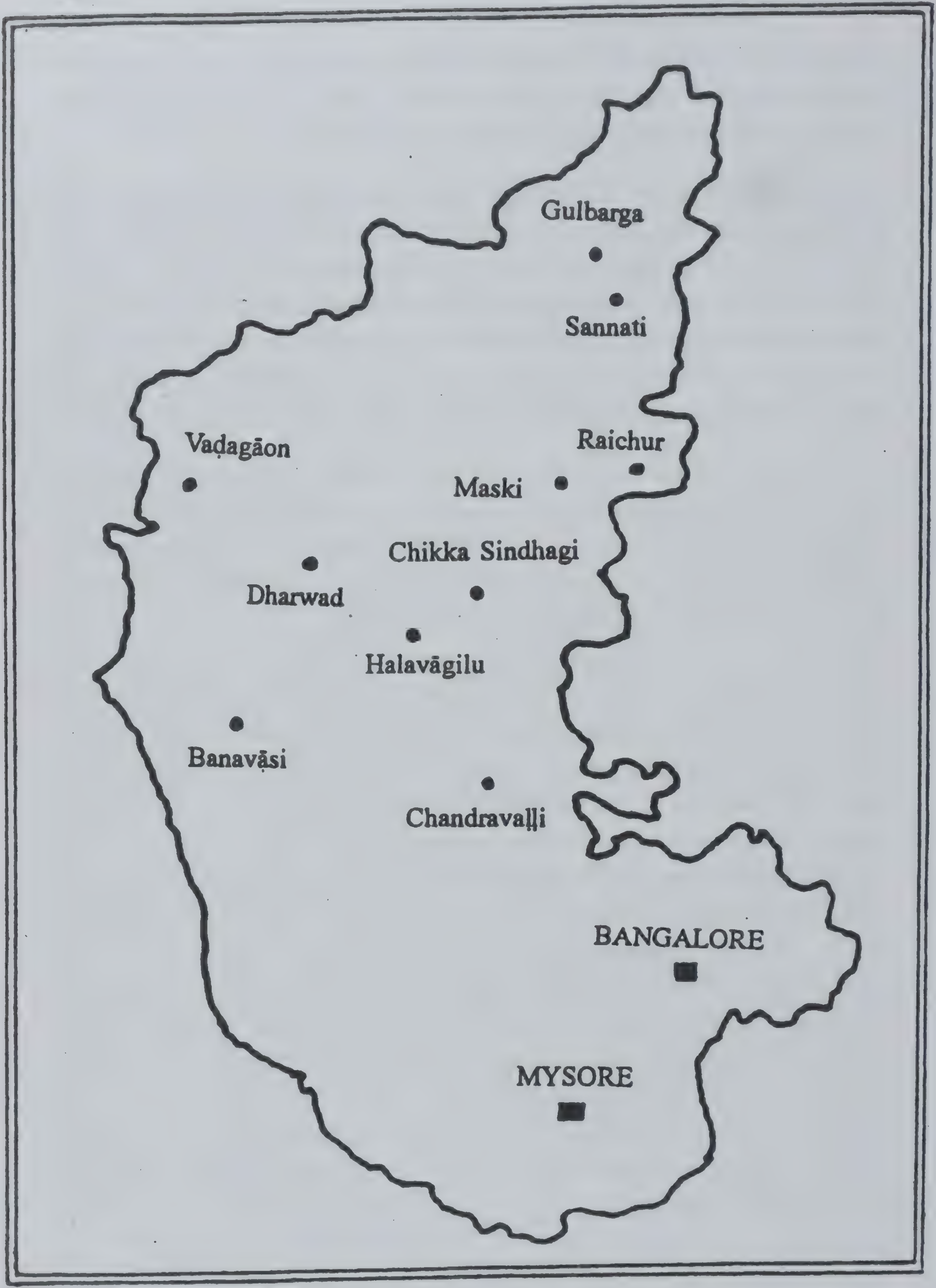
Punch-marked coin from Banavāsi excavation

The discovery of a punch-marked coin in stratified levels in the archaeological excavations conducted at Banavāsi is important. The Ancient History and Archaeology Department of Mysore University in collaboration with the Karnataka State Department of Archaeology conducted excavations here from 1969 to 1972. During the excavations was discovered an apsidal brick structure ascribed to the Sātavāhana period. Between the outer and inner apse of this structure was found a pit. In this pit were discovered important antiquities like russet coated kaolin painted ware, rouletted ware and what looked like a *Samian* ware and other contemporary wares along with glass beads with gold plating. In the lower levels of this pit was discovered a punch-marked coin. From the stratigraphic position it becomes clear that this coin was found in the pre-Sātavāhana levels as the pit occurs below the floor levels of the structure mentioned above. The punch-marked coin discovered here is rectangular with a roundish shape on one of the sides. Though the symbols are worn out they can be seen on the coin. From the various symbols seen this coin could be ascribed to the late Mauryan period. Thus it provides a good chronological basis for the punch-marked coins in Karnataka.

Another silver punch-marked coin was found in the excavations at Chandravaḷḷi conducted by Wheeler in 1947.[31] It was recovered from stratum 7 of the main section. It is rectangular in shape with a size of 0.53" x 0.42". It weighed 2.58632 grams. It has five symbols on the obverse and the reverse is blank. the obverse marks are a solar symbol, a floral design, a *ḍamaru,* and an arrow head. The stratum 7 has been ascribed to middle Āndhra level on the basis of pottery.

Recently, some more punch-marked coins have been reported from Vaḍagaon-Mādhavapur which is a suburb of the town of Belgaum in Karnataka. The Ancient History and Epigraphy Department of the Karnataka University, and Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, conducted excavations at this site in 1972.[32] In the excavations were discovered a few punch-marked coins in stratified levels. The site belongs to the early historic period and black-and-red ware, black ware, beads, iron objects were also found in the excavation. The structure that was excavated in the site belonged to early first century A.D., according to the excavators. As the punch-marked coins were found within a room of this structure, they seem to have been in circulation atleast during the first century A.D., if not earlier, in this area. In all the excavation yielded eight punch-marked coins. They are squarish and rectangular in shape. They are made of thin sheets of base silver and copper. They contain five symbols, prominent among them being sun, hill, spiral and Taurine. It is reported that some of these copper punch marked coins were given a coating of silver to make them appear like silver coins. The exact significance of these punch-marked coins and their chronology probably becomes clear after a study of the objects and antiquities found in the excavation.

Gulbarga hoard: 225 silver punch marked coins were discovered at the village Habbal in Gulbarga taluk in 1940. Actually it is known as Gulbarga hoard. The coins were tied in a piece of cloth and kept


Gulbarga
Sannati
Vaḍagāon
Raichur
Maski
Chikka Sindhagi
Dharwad
Halavāgilu
Banavāṣi
Chandravaḷḷi
BANGALORE
MYSORE

PUNCH MARKED COINS IN KARNATAKA

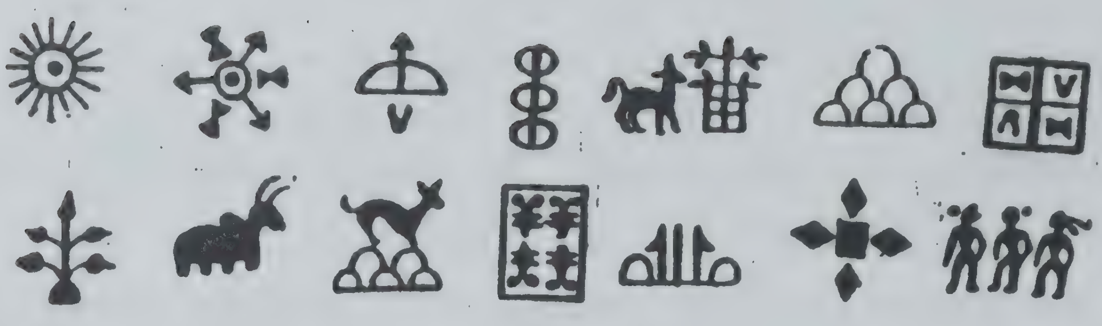
in a pot, as some of the coins still retained the textile mark. After examination it was found that the cloth was made of hemp fibre. This hoard has been examined in detail by P.L. Gupta and this has been incorporated here.[33] He divides these coins as belonging to four periods; period I-4 coins; period II-54 coins; period III-98 coins and period IV-29 coins.

The coins of the period I ascribed to Pre-Mauryan are only four. They are of thin fabric and can be further classified into many varieties. Generally they have five symbols and the first symbol is the solar symbol which is common to all the coins. It is very interesting to note that some of the coins belong to double- obverse type, which are found even in the Bhir mound hoard. These coins have minute reverse marks also. It seems that after sometime they were re-issued and at that time of second issue, obverse symbols were punched on the reverse of the original issues. The weight of these coins varies from 40 to 45 grains. The coins of the II period are mostly of medium fabric; some are thin and some are slightly dumpy. They can be further classified into nine categories. Most of the coins have six to nine marks on the reverse though rarely thirteen marks are also seen. The weight of these coins varies from 44 to 49 grains.

Fifty percent of the coins in the hoard belong to the period III. Most of the coins are dumpy, square and circular. Only a few are of medium fabric. The weight of these coins varies from 43-50 grains.

29 coins belong to period IV. All these coins are of dumpy fabric and some are made from globules; others are either square or rectangular cut out of thick metal sheets. These coins have been further divided into four categories. Most of the coins of this period weigh between 42 and 51 grains.

Though as a rule there are five symbols on the obverse, there is a variety of combination. However, the solar symbol is found on all the coins of this hoard. Different varieties of six-armed symbol, hill symbol, elephant, deer are more common.



Symbols on the coins

Thus the Gulbarga hoard provides a chronological and technological development of punch marked coins in Karnataka.

Raichur hoard: 63 silver punch marked coins were found in 1935-36 at the foot-hills of Raichur town near the Railway station.[34] Almost all the coins of this hoard are of this and medium fabric while only a few are of thick fabric. All these coins are made by clipping the metal sheets and none of them is circular. The coins of the globular fabric are not at all seen in this hoard. Comparatively these coins are fresh in look than the Gulbarga hoard.

All these coins are also ascribed to four periods depending upon the fabric and symbols; period I-5 coins; period II-40 coins; period III-11 coins; period IV-4 coins. This shows the predominance of the coins of period II and III.

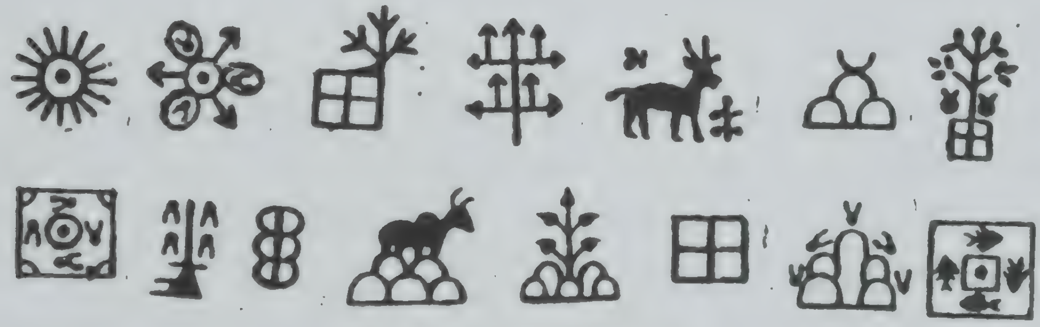
The coins of the period I are of thin fabric. They have five major symbols on the obverse in which the solar symbol is common. Different varieties of six-armed symbol, animals and birds are also seen on some of them. Some of the coins belong to the double-obverse variety. The reverse have minute marks. Their weight varies from 41 to 47 grains.

40 coins belong to period III. While some varieties are common, there are some specimens which are rare and perhaps they did not form the currency of the area. The coins belongs to the medium fabric. They have five symbols on the obverse and the solar symbol is common to all of them. The reverse of these coins also have

minute marks which vary in number. The weight of these coins varies from 44 to 52 grains though majority of the coins belong to the category of 47 and 49 grains.

11 coins belong to the period III. They are of dumpy fabric and square in shape. All of them have five obverse symbols. While some of them have minute marks on the reverse, some are fully blank. Their weight varies from 48 to 51 grains but majority of the coins belong to the category of 50-51 grains.

Four coins of period IV have been recognised. They are of dumpy fabric and square in shape. The obverse has five bold marks in which the solar symbol is common. Indistinct reverse marks are also seen. The weight of the coins varies from 48 to 50 grains.



Symbols on the coins

It is of interest to know when this hoard was deposited as there are some clues to it. The major portions of the coins of group III are associated with a particular type which on the evidence of Bhir mound were in circulation in circa 317 B.C. The coins of III A would follow immediately. the coins of C and H are negligible here which belong to circa 175 B.C. Hence P.L. Gupta suggests that this hoard was deposited sometime in the latter half of the third century B.C. This is a very important chronological bracket for the use of punch marked coins in Karnataka.

Maski: Maski in Raichur district has been subjected to Archaeological excavations many times. It was first excavated by Yazdani in 1935-36 in which no coins have been reported. Further excavations were conducted here in 1942-43. During the course of this excavation nine punch marked coins were found.[35] Two of them were made of silver and the rest are of copper. It is also possible that all these are of highly alloyed silver. Three coins of this group are of medium fabric; other five are of dumpy fabric and square in shape and cut from metal sheets while the remaining one is circular of globule fabric. It is interesting to note that one of the coins of medium fabric is broken and appears to be half of the original coin. Perhaps it was deliberately done and used as half a coin as was the practice in Taxila and Bahal.

The punch marked coins found at Maski have been grouped as belonging to five periods. No coin has been ascribed to period I. Two coins have been assigned to period II. These coins weigh 45 and 55 grains respectively. These coins belong to period III and they weigh 47, 39 and 50 grains. Only one coin belongs to period IV and it weighs 49 grains.

Nine coins of Maski show solar symbol in addition to different varieties of six-armed symbol, crescent on three arched hill, bull and elephant. It has been suggested on the basis of typology and weight standard and also the fresh condition of a coin that these punch marked coins should be dated to pre-Mauryan period in Karnataka. This shows that the pre-Mauryan people in Karnataka had a knowledge of punch marked coins. As Maski has given evidence of megalithic culture during the pre-Mauryan period, Gupta suggests that these punch marked coins were paid to the labourers as their wages.[36] Though interesting, this opinion needs serious consideration and has to be confirmed by other evidences.

Sannati: Sannati in Gulbarga district is an important site where a large number of Prakrit inscriptions and inscriptions of Asoka have been discovered in recent years. This site has been subjected to large scale excavation by the Archaeological Survey of India and the Karnataka State Department of Archaeology. Though the details of the excavations are yet to be published in detail, it is known that eight silver punch marked coins were found at the site and many more are likely to be found.

Halavāgalu: This village is situated in Harapanahalli taluk of Bellary district. During the agricultural operations 144 silver punch marked were found kept in a pot. Of these 133 coins are rectangular and the remaining 11 are circular. Preliminary examination has shown that they contain five major symbols on the obverse where as the reverse has mild symbols. The hoard is yet to be studied in detail.

Chikka Sindhagi: However, the biggest hoard of punch marked coins in Karnataka was reported from the village Chikka Sindhagi (Sindogi) in Raichur district. This treasure trove came to light while farmers were ploughing the field for agricultural purpose. The hoard contained 5534 punch marked coins. These were kept in a globular copper vessel and a pot. The total weight was 16.69 kg. The copper pot had an inscription reading *Chantasa* in Brāhmi script datable on palaeographical grounds to second or third century A.D. The Brāhmi inscription was flanked in either side by *Śrīvatsa* and *Nandipāda* symbols. The inscription may point out that this treasure trove belonged to *Chanta* or *Santa.* He might have been a feudatory chief of the Sātavāhanas ruling in the area. The name *Chanta* reminds us of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. It is also noteworthy that not far away from this place at Sannati were found sculptured slabs of Buddhist faith closely resembling the Nāgārjuakoṇḍa sculptural panels. Though this hoard has not been subjected to serious and systematic study, it is known that the coins belonged to Mauryan typology with five symbols. The coins are of different shapes such as circular, square, rectangular etc. Thus they establish the fact that Mauryan punch marked coins were in circulation in this area.

It is important to note that select coins of this hoard were subjected to non-destructive chemical analysis by the National Research Laboratory for Conservation of Cultural property Lucknow by Bhatta Sankara Rao.[37] The method adopted was Wavelength Dispersive X ray Flourescence Spectrometer System (WDXRF). 132 silver coins were selected for this study. The study made the following points clear:

1. The silver and copper ratios indicated that the coins are made from cast metal pieces of approximate composition.
2. The value of silver varied from 51.08 % to 94.27 %, whereas copper varied from 4.75 % to 45.92 %.
3. On the basis of the intensity of silver and copper ratio, four groups can be recognised among these coins. This is due to the imperfect technology used in manufacturing these coins.
4. Some pits and cracks are found on the coins and this shows that the coins are made with non-uniform distribution of the elements with different percentages.
5. The value of lead varied from 0.31 % to 1.88 % and this shows that they used lead-bearing ore material with Zinc and Nickel as impurities. If such studies are made for other hoards also, a comparative study can be undertaken. Thus the Chikka Sindhagi hoard has thrown interesting light on the technique of manufacture of punch marked coins in Karnataka.

A large number of terracotta moulds for manufacturing punch marked coins through the process of casting have come to light in different parts of the country.[38] They have been found in South India also at Kānchipuram, Dhūlikaṭṭa, Vīrāpuram, Koṇḍāpur and other places. But they have not been reported from Karnataka so far. This does not mean that counterfeit punch marked coins were not manufactured here. It has been reported that some of the copper punch marked coins found at Vaḍagāon Mādhavpur had silver coating. Obviously this should be taken as an instance of counterfeiting punch marked coins in Karnataka.

From all these evidences, the following points emerge with regard to punch marked coins in Karnataka. Punch marked coins were in extensive circulation in Karnataka right from the pre-Mauryan period. They continued to be dominant during the Mauryan and post-Mauryan periods. They were in circulation even during the Sātavāhana period.

The punch marked coins are confined mostly to northern Karnataka. Though typologically they belong to Mauryan variety, it is not known if they were locally manufactured or came from North India. Chikka Sindhagi hoard points to the first possibility and perhaps there was a mint in Karnataka in the Mauryan period to manufacture these coins for the use of the local people. Further researches are bound to yield more interesting facts in this regard.

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28. Specimens 2, 15, 17 and 19 as given in the report. However Krishna thought that only one specimen weighing 28.4 grains was a *half Kārshāpaṇa.*

29. Specimens 14 and 18 as given in the report. However, Krishna attributed only one specimen (No. 14) to this group.

30. *MAR.,* 1938, p. 73.

31. *Ancient India,* No. 4, pp. 288-89.

32. The author is grateful to Dr. B.S. Kulakarni, Director, Kannaḍa Research Institute, Karnataka University, Dharwar, for kindly supplying information about these coins for inclusion here. The note was prepared by Dr. A. Sundara, Professor in Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, Karnataka University, Dharwar, through the courtesy of Dr. B.K. Gururaja Rao. The author is grateful to both these scholars.

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CHAPTER III

MAHĀRAṬHI AND CHUṬU COINS

With the disintegration of the Mauryan power we enter into a new phase of Karnataka history. The well knit Mauryan empire with its well organised punch-marked currency lost its hold on Karnataka. Many subordinate and feudatory families who were serving the Mauryan emperor faithfully suddenly declared independence and occupied various territories according to their choice. It is very difficult to reconstruct the history of Karnataka during this period till we come to the emergence of the Sātavāhanas as a major power in Deccan. Thus in many respects this is one of the dark periods in the history of early Karnataka. Taking advantage of the sudden decline of the Mauryas, the local governors called Mahāraṭhis established their own kingdoms in many parts of the Deccan. Thus we see a family of Mahāraṭhis ruling in Chitradurga-Karwar-Banavāsi area. Another family had its headquarters at Brahmapuri. Still another family was stationed in Vidarbha. Perhaps there was a Mahāraṭhi family in Andhra area also. Thus we find many Mahāraṭhi families ruling contemporaneously various parts of the Deccan after the fall of the Mauryas. We are concerned here with that Mahāraṭhi family which ruled in parts of Karnataka which perhaps included Karwar, Banavāsi, Chitradurga and Chandravaḷḷi. We may refer to them as the Mahāraṭhis of Karnataka. The known members of this family had the appellation *Sadakana* as part of their name and hence they are referred to as the family of *Sadakana* also. Some early historians believed that these *Sadakana* family rulers were the feudatories of the early Sātavāhanas.

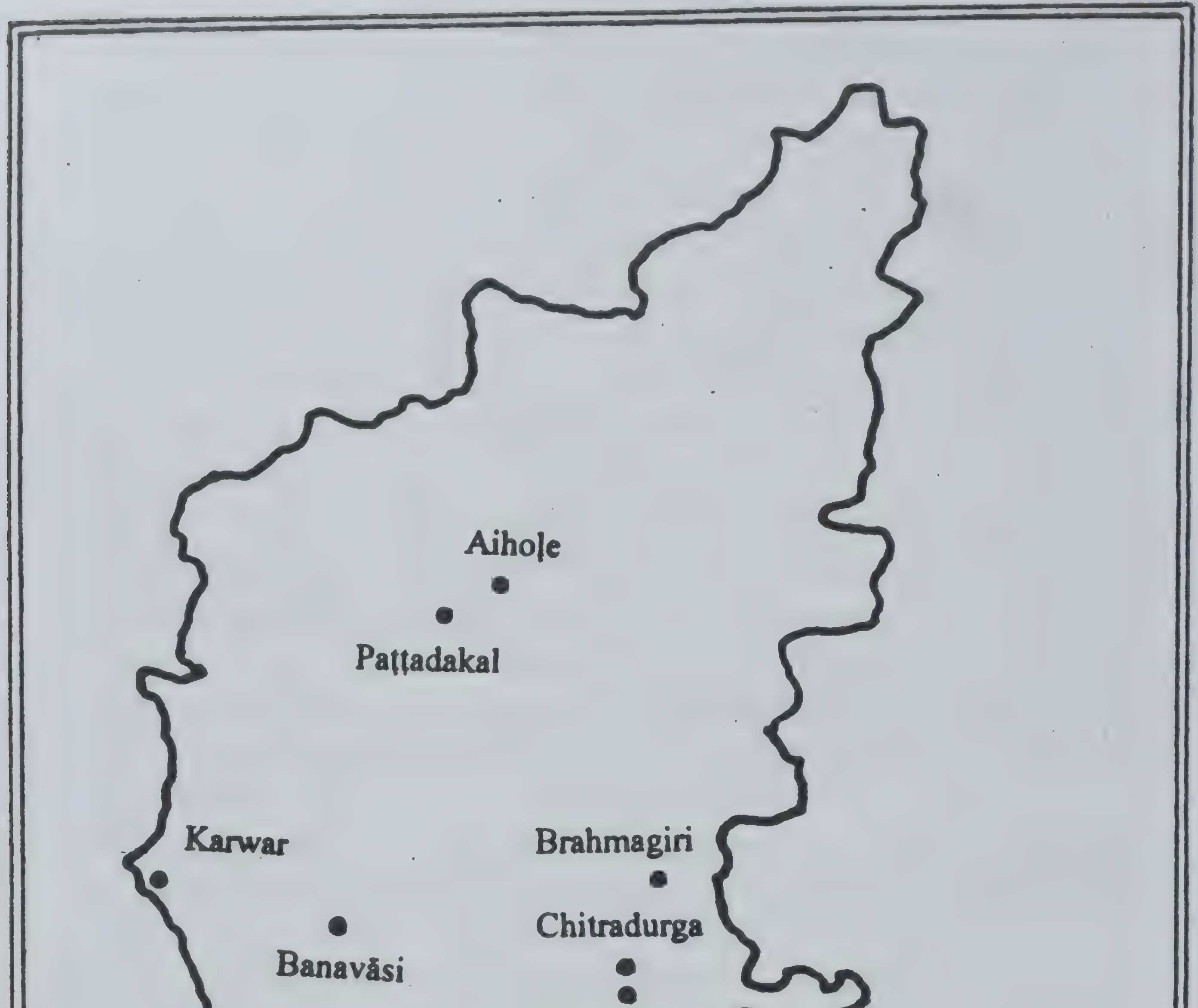
The credit of inaugurating the tradition of minting coins in lead goes to these Mahāraṭhis. Lead had a great impact on the coinage of Karnataka and South India for a considerable time and according to P.L. Gupta, it went to North India from here through Gujarat and Malwa.[1] From the large number of lead coins of this and other dynasties found in Karnataka, it becomes evident that during the early centuries lead was a very popular metal for coinage in Karnataka, Andhra and Maharashtra.

Before we discuss the coins of the Mahāraṭhis, it would be necessary to know their chronology. On the basis of their coinage, four generations of Mahāraṭhis have come to light. They are Sadakana Kalalaya Mahāraṭhi, Sadakana Kanha Mahāraṭhi puta, Sadakana Chaṭukanha Mahāraṭhi and an anonymous Mahāraṭhi. The suffix and the prefix of these names makes it clear that all of them belonged to the same family and the similarity of their coins corroborates this. Rapson thought that Kalalaya Mahāraṭhi of these coins was the same as the one mentioned in Nānāghaṭ inscription and on that basis dated these coins to about 150 B.C.[2] As the Chuṭukulānanda and Muḍānanda coins exhibited palaeographic character of a slightly later date, he further said that Māharaṭhis were succeeded by the Ānanda kings. Rapson, however, took the word *Kalalaya* as a title and not as a personal name. N.P. Chakravarti emphasised the fact that the coins of the Mahāraṭhis were found along with a Roman coin of Augustus. Hence he took the Mahāraṭhis as the contemporary feudatories under the Sātavāhana ruler Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. He writes, "...The theory that the coins of Kalalaya Mahāraṭhis may belong to the period of Śrī Sata, the third member of the Andhra dynasty has to be given up and they must be relegated to a later period".[3] He concludes, "...In no case can the Mahāraṭhi coins be dated earlier than the first century A.D."[4]

Wheeler who found the Mahāraṭhi coins in Chandravaḷḷi excavations argues mainly on the basis of the palaeography of the legend on the coins. The legend on the coins resembles, in his view, the script of the Sānchi inscription of Sātakarṇi II and the inscription is ascribed to 50 B.C. Hence Wheeler opined that "On the general grounds of palaeography alone, these coins though not specifically datable, are assignable to a pre-Puḷamāvi period, though not in any case, it seems, earlier than c. 50 B.C."[5] Rama Rao who has made a detailed study of this problem objects to the comparison of coin legends to inscriptions as was done by Wheeler. He compares the palaeography of the Mahāraṭhi coin legends to the coin legends of the Sātavāhanas and states, "This points to a time earlier than that of the later Sātavāhanas and nearer that of the early rulers".[6] He confirms this opinion with the help of other evidences also. It is generally agreed by all that the Mahāraṭhis were succeeded by the Ānanda kings in Chitradugra-Banavāsi area. Then came the later Sātavāhana rulers. As the Ānanda rulers are described as kings in their coins, they were not subordinate rulers but were independent kings. It is quite likely that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi conquered this region of Karnataka from the independent Ānanda kings. This is supported by the facts as known from the Nāsik inscriptions. This would make the Ānanda kings, the contemporary of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and they could be ascribed to the period of the early half of the first century A.D. As four generations of Mahāraṭhis flourished before these Ānanda kings, Kalalaya Mahāraṭhi may be ascribed to the second quarter of the second century B.C.[7] P.L. Gupta also accepts this date for the Mahāraṭhis.[8] Thus we may take the Mahāraṭhis of Karnataka as ruling Karwar-Chitradurga-Banavāsi area in about the second century B.C.

A large number of the lead coins of the Mahāraṭhis have been found in Chitradurga, Karwar, Aihoḷe and Banavāsi. In 1888, Mervyn Smith, a mining engineer found some lead coins and presented them to various museums. Among them were the coins of the Mahāraṭhis and the Ānandas. Though their significance was not noticed then by any one, the credit of finding these coins for the first time goes to Mervyn Smith. Subsequently Hultzsch published a note on these coins in the pages of *Epigraphia Indica*.[9] Rapson also discussed these coins in his catalogue.[10] In the *Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department,* these coins were noticed and studied.[11]

The Mysore Archaeological Department conducted excavations at Chandravaḷḷi under the direction of Krishna. Many Mahāraṭhi coins were found by Krishna during the excavations. The excavations conducted by Sir Mortimer Wheeler at the same site in 1947, yielded a large number of Mahāraṭhi coins in stratified levels.[12] The real

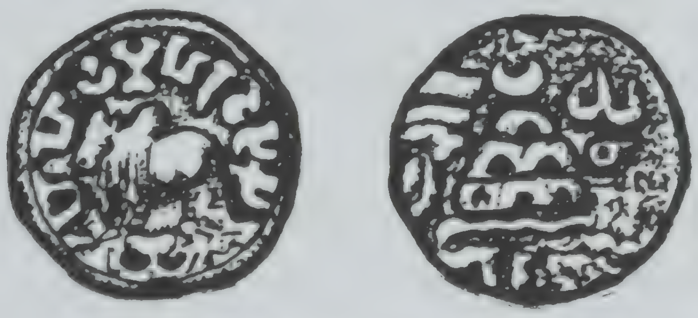

Aihoḷe
Paṭṭadakal
Karwar
Brahmagiri
Chitradurga
Banavāsi
Chandravaḷḷi
Anuvanahaḷḷi
Mysore

MAHĀRAṬHI AND CHUṬU COINS IN KARNATAKA

significance of these coins could be understood from these excavations. In 1954, M. Rama Rao visited the archaeological museum at Chitradurga and found a large number of Mahāraṭhi coins exhibited there. He studied them and published a catalogue of these coins.[13]

The coins of the Mahāraṭhis are of lead. They are circular and thick with a diameter ranging from 1.5" to 0.95". Most of specimens measure about an inch in diameter. The published specimens show great divergence in their weight. The lowest weighs about 77 grains and the highest weighs about 221 grains. Probably the former piece was extremely worn out and this may be the reason for its low weight or it may be a specimen of a lower denomination. But the size of both the specimens is more or less the same.

The most important character of these coins is the presence of a bull on the obverse with the legend over it. These coins are very elegant. The depiction of the animal is highly natural. The nail-headed Brāhmi legend is neatly executed. In this respect they are superior to many Satavahana coins. The reverse shows three types namely hill, hill-tree and tree. But there are many variations of a minor nature in the obverse and reverse of these coins. As we have already said, these coins belong to four Mahāraṭhis and Sadakana Kalalaya Mahāraṭhi is the earliest of them. His coins may be described as follows:



Coin of Sadakana Kalalaya Mahāraṭhi

1. obv: Humped bull, standing left, legend *Sadakana Kalalaya Mahāraṭhisa.*

rev: Crescent on hill of six arches in three tiers, with a wavy line below; Triangle headed standard over double fish; *Nandipāda* over double fish and *Swastika* at left and right.

2. obv: As in No. 1.
   rev: Crescent on hill; *Nandipāda* to right, double fish above; goad below it and *Swastika* above the double fish.

3. obv: Bull facing right with the legend....*laya ma*...
   rev: Hill, *Nandipāda,* double fish and triangle headed standard, *Swastika* and double *ya* below.

4. obv: Bull as in No. 3, with full legend.
   rev: Hill, triangle above, double fish to left, *Swastika* and double *ya* below.

5. obv: Bull as in No. 4, with legend *Sadakana,* .....*Mahāraṭhisa.*
   rev: As in No. 3.

6. obv: As in No. 1.
   rev: Tree in railing and hill of six arches to right, with river symbol below.

7. obv: As in No. 6.
   rev: Tree in railing; crescent over the hill.

8. obv: As in No. 7.
   rev: Solid hill with no tiers surmounted by a crescent with tree in the railing to right.

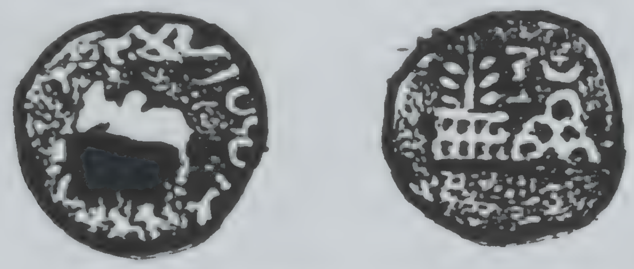
9. obv: As in No. 8.
   rev: A crescent over a hill of six arches with tree in the railing to right. Triangle headed standard between them and a symbol to right.

Coins of Sadakana Chaṭakanhasa Mahāraṭhi

1. obv: Humped bull standing left; legend *Sadakana Chaṭakanha Mahāraṭhisa.*

rev: Crescent on hill of six arches; tree within a railing and a symbol which looks like a triangle headed standard.

There are many variations in depicting the tree in the railing as well as other symbols on these coins.



Coin of Chaṭakanha Mahāraṭhi

Coins of Sadakana kana Mahāraṭhiputa

1. obv: Humped bull standing left; legend *Sadakana Kanasa Mahāraṭhiputasa.*

   rev: Tree on hill of five arches with a wavy line beneath.

Coin of Mahāraṭhi (anonymous)

1. obv: Humped bull standing right with the legend....... *Mahāraṭhisa.*

   rev: Tree within railing, crescent on hill of three arches and indistinct symbols.

There are many other coins with minor variations in their obverse and reverse. But they belong to one group or the other mentioned above. In some specimens the hill has eight, ten or even twelve arches in two or three tiers. In another coin of incomplete legend, the hill is absent but the tree in railing with *Nandipāda* is seen.

Rama Rao also obtained a coin of a Mahāraṭhi from Nelakoṇḍanapalli in Khammam district of Andhra Pradesh.[14] It was a lead coin with a diameter of 0.7." The obverse of the coin contained a six- arched hill surmounted by a crescent in the centre.

Around it was the legend *Mahārathi Sivaka...nasa.* The reverse had a hill of ten arches surmounted by a tree with a *swastika* to the right and another symbol to the left. This coin cannot be ascribed to any Mahārathi of the Karnataka area because the word *Sadakana* which is invariably found on Karnataka Mahārathi coins is absent in this coin. Moreover, the Karnataka Mahārathi coins contain a bull on the obverse but the present coin contains a hill. This coin cannot be related to Chuṭukulānanda and Muḍānanda just on the basis of the hill found on all of them. Hence Rama Rao rightly concludes that this coin may belong to a Mahārathi who was stationed somewhere in Andhra. From the palaeography of the legends it becomes clear that this Mahārathi was a contemporary of the other Mahārathi families which ruled in Karnataka and Maharashtra.

A.H. Siddiqui discovered a lead coin from Hyderabad, belonging to Mahārathis.[15] Its diameter was 0.7" and weight 263 grains. The obverse of this coin showed a lion and a *swastika* with the legend *Mahārathiputasa* and the reverse had the Ujjain symbol. A similar coin with the legend *Mahārathiputasa* has been found in the excavations at Chandravaḷḷi.[16] But this coin conforms to the general pattern of Mahārathi coins as it contains the usual humped bull on the obverse. But the coin discovered by Siddiqui shows a lion and not a bull. Hence, this coin has to be taken as a coin of one of the Mahārathis who ruled in the Central Deccan. Probably, they were more closely connected with the Sātavāhanas as shown by a coin wherein the legend reads *Sātakarṇi Mahārathi Sadakana.*[17] So this coin cannot be ascribed to the Mahārathis of Karnataka area.

In the Chandravaḷḷi excavations were found a large number of lead coins which are uninscribed. About fourteen such coins have been noticed by Wheeler. Most of these coins have a close resemblance to the coins of the Mahārathis except for the absence of legend. We may describe some coins here.

1. obv: Humped bull standing left.
   rev: Crescent on hill of six arches in three tiers, triangle headed standard and *swastika* symbol to the right.

2. obv: Humped bull standing right.
   rev: Tree within a railing and *Nandipāda* to the right.

3. obv: As in No. 2.
   rev: Tree within railing.

4. obv: As in No. 1.
   rev: Crescent on a hill of six arches.

In these coins also we notice many minor variations such as the number of arches or the tiers in the hill symbol. Thus from typology i.e., the humped hull facing left or right on the obverse and the tree in the railing or the crescent on the hill in the reverse, these coins show a close relationship with those of the inscribed Mahāraṭhi coins. Hence, these coins could also be ascribed to the Mahāraṭhis. P.L. Gupta thinks that the Mahāraṭhis first issued these uninscribed coins and later they began issuing coins with their names inscribed on them.[18]

Chuṭu Coins

As we have already mentioned, the Chuṭus, also called Ānanda kings, succeeded the Mahāraṭhis in Karnataka. The Karwar hoard of General Pearse which contained coins of Chuṭukulānanda and Muḍānanda were studied by Rapson and he attributed them to the 'Nanda' kings of Karwar and thought that the Nanda dynasty had extended its rule up to this area.[19] But he hastened to correct this opinion and called it Ānanda dynasty in his subsequent publication.[20] Three kings Chuṭukulānanda, Muḍānanda and Śivalānanda are known so far from the coins. Their coins have been discovered at Karwar, Chitradugra, Chadravaḷḷi and recently in Banavāsi. Hence it has been generlaly believed that they were the successors of the Mahāraṭhis of Karnataka and were conquered by the later Sātavāhanas. All these rulers of this dynasty bear the title *Rājno.* So they may be taken to have ruled independently and not as subordinate governors. From this it becomes clear that they are the earliest rulers to be called *Rājno* in Karnataka.

The three kings Chuṭukulānanda, Muḍānanda and Sivalānanda are taken by many historians as belonging to Chuṭukula or the Chuṭu dynasty. This is mainly on the basis of the name Chuṭukulānanda known from coins and inscriptions. The Malavaḷḷi[21] and Banavāsi,[22] inscriptions refer to Chuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi. Rapson is positive that Chuṭukulānanda of the inscriptions and Chuṭukulānanda of the coins are two different kings. From the palaeographical point of view the coins of Chuṭukulānanda seem to be older than the inscriptions. Hence the king Chuṭukulānanda of the coins may be an ancestor of Chuṭukulānanda of the inscriptions.[23]

Rama Rao, Gupta and others refer to these kings as belonging to Ānanda Vaṃśa because their names have in common the word Ānanda.[24]

If both these kings are taken to have belonged to Chuṭukula, one would expect to find that title in the coins of Muḍānanda also. But the coins of Muḍānanda do not say to which *kula* he belonged. The typology of the coins and the word Ānanda occurring as the suffix would show that they belonged to the same *kula.* Hence to refer to them as Ānanda kings would be better till we come to know something more about their *kula.*

The name Chuṭukulānanda is also explained in different ways. According to Rapson, as *Kaḍa* means a city, the name Chuṭukaḍānanda may be taken to mean 'the joy of the city of the Chuṭus'.[25] D.C. Sircar also takes the names as Chuṭukaḍānanda, possibly because this name refers to a place called Chuṭukaṭa[26] (cf. Bhōjakaṭa). The king Mulānanda is also referred to as Muḍānanda. Rapson, however, thinks that Muḍānanda may be 'Muṇḍānanda' and translates it as the 'Joy of the Muṇḍas'.[27] What exactly he means by this is not clear. It is generally believed by all historians that Chuṭukulānanda was succeeded by Muḍānanda.

The coins of Chuṭukulānanda and Muḍānanda were first picked up by Mervyn Smith from Chitradurga. Subsequently General Pearse found them in Karwar which were studied by Rapson. In the excavation at Chandravaḷḷi Wheeler found a coin of Chuṭukulānanda, in 1947. Recently, the coins of both Chuṭukulānanda and Muḍānanda have been discovered at Banavāsi in North Kanara during the excavation conducted by the Department of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Ancient History and Archaeology of the University of Mysore.

The coins of this dynasty are of lead. They are big circular coins not very neatly done. Generally, their diameter varies from 1" to 1.25". Their weight ranges from 210 grains to 250 grains. Usually the obverse of these coins contains a hill and the legend. The reverse contains a tree in the railing with some small symbols. The known coins can be described in detail now.

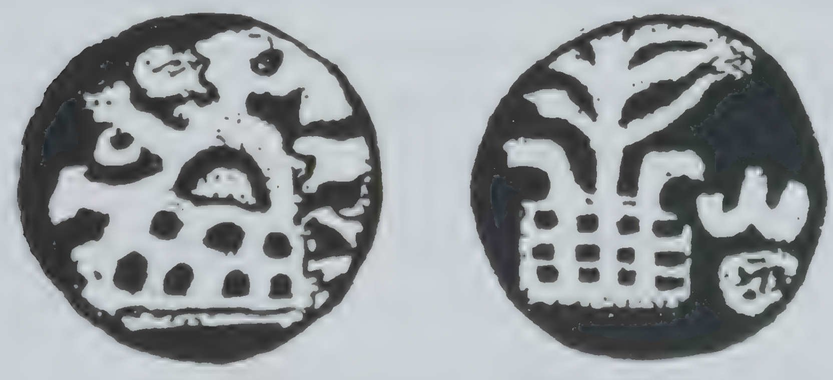
Coins of Chuṭukulānanda

1. obv: Hill of seven small arches and one big arch in three tiers and a wavy line below; the legend *Rājno Chuṭukalemnamdasa.*

   rev: Tree with a railing; *Nandipāda* over *swastika* to the left; double *ya* over triangle headed standard to the right.

2. obv: Hill of eight arches with the legend *Rājno Chuṭukulānandasa.*

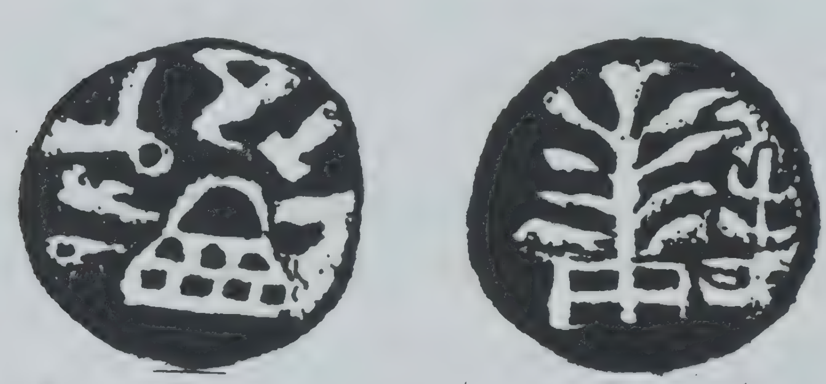
   rev: Tree with *Nandipāda* to the right and double *ya* over a symbol.



Coin of Chuṭukulānanda

Coins of Muḍānanda

1. obv: A hill of eight arches with the legend *Rājno Muḷānandasa.*
   rev: Tree with double *ya* to the right and *Triratna* symbol to the left.
2. obv: As in No. 1 above.
   rev: Tree with a triangle headed symbol to the left and *Triratna* to the right.
3. obv: As in No. 1 above.
   rev: Tree in railing with *Triratna* symbol.
4. obv: A hill with six arches and the legend.
   rev: Tree in railing.



Coin of Muḍānanda

In the Chandravaḷḷi excavations, Wheeler found certain smaller un-inscribed coins. Their obverse showed a hill of six or eight arches almost similar to those seen on coins described above. As they are lead circular coins, it is quite likely that they were also issued by the Ānanda rulers in addition to their bigger coins with inscriptions. Some specimens of this un-inscribed variety may be described.

1. obv: Hill of six arches in three tiers with a wavy line below.
   rev: *Swastika* symbol.
2. obv: Hill of eight arches in three tiers.
   rev: Taurine and *Nandipāda.*

The diameter of these coins varies from 0.5" to 0.6" and their weight varies from 50 to 60 grains. Thus they are not only smaller in size but also lesser in weight than those of the un- inscribed coins of the Ānandas.

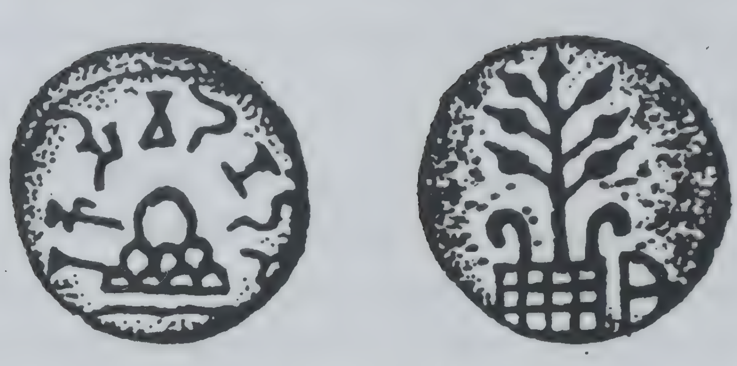
A potin coin with a legend *Chuṭuka* was found in Hyderabad. It measured 0.7" and weighed 100 grains. The obverse of this coin contained a *swastika* and the legend which was first read as *Māna Chuṭuka.* The reverse contained a thunderbolt encircled by dots. G.V. Acharya ascribed this coin to Chuṭukulānanda on the basis of the word *Chuṭuka* found on this coin. He thought that this was a coin of a new variety.[28] But Mirashi who examined this coin in greater detail was able to identify Māna Chuṭuka of this coin as a Śaka king who ruled in the southern parts of Hyderabad and parts of Karnataka and not as Chuṭukulānanda of Chitradurga and Karwar hoards.[29] Moreover, there is no similarity between this coin and the coins of Chuṭukulānanda either in weight, or in size and symbols. Hence the conclusion of Mirashi can be accepted without any doubt.

Coins of Sivalānanda

The coins of this king were discovered at Banavāsi while labourers were digging on the banks of the river Varada. The credit of identifying them as belonging to king Sivalānanda goes to Raghunatha Bhat.[30] On the basis of typology, palaeography and provenance these coins should be ascribed to one of the rulers of the Chuṭu or Ānanda dynasty of Karnataka. However, there is no means of knowing his place in the dynasty, but in all probability he was the successor of Muḍānanda. These coins are circular and their diameter varies from 2.7 to 3 cms and their weight varies from 211 to 245 grains.

obv: Eight arched hill with a wavy line below; legend (starting at VII) *Rano Sivalānandasa* (ending at IV) in nail headed Brāhmi.

rev: Tree in the railing; to the left of the railing is a bow with an arrow.



Coin of Sivalānanda

Recently, N.S. Rangaraju has discovered a coin of Chuṭukulānanda at Anuvanahaḷḷi, near Chikkamagaḷūr as a surface collection.[31] Explorations are bound to yield more coins of this dynasty.

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CHAPTER IV

SĀTAVĀHANA COINS IN KARNATAKA

The Sātavāhanas who dominated the political scene of post-Mauryan Deccan for about four centuries played an important role in the history of Karnataka also. In spite of many great scholars probing into the origin and political history of this dynasty, not a satisfactory picture has emerged till now. This is due to the highly conflicting data supplied by the various Purāṇas and inscriptions. Bellary region in Karnataka, has been regarded as the original home of the early Sātavāhanas by many historians. Though some historians do not accept the Karnataka origin of the Sātavāhanas, there is no doubt about the Sātavāhana rule in Karnataka. Many inscriptions, excavations and coins have proved beyond doubt the intimate connection of the Sātavāhanas with Karnataka. Excavations at Chandravaḷḷi, Vaḍagaon, Banavāsi, Paṭṭadakal, Sannati, Talakāḍ and other places in Karnataka have brought to light cultural periods connected with the Sātavāhanas.

We face many difficulties when we take up the study of the coinage of the Sātavāhanas. If we take up the number of hoards and individual coins of the Sātavāhana rulers into consideration, we would be disappointed because most of the Sātavāhana coins are discovered outside Karnataka. A distributional map of Sātavāhana coins would show this phenomenon in an emphatic way. Though coins are extremely migratory, one cannot easily account for the rarity of the Sātavāhana coins in Karnataka itself. Thus the Sātavāhana coinage has to be viewed under a wider geographical area rather than Karnataka alone. In other words it is not an isolated system of coinage which prevailed in Karnataka alone but was a wider system of coinage in circulation in a wider area. Hence, only such Sātavāhana coins which have been found in Karnataka or which have a direct impact on the coinage of Karnataka are discussed here, against the general background of the Sātavāhana coins.

Sātavāhana coins are the richest in Deccan numismatic history in variety and quantity. Thousands of Sātavāhana coins have come to light so far in the whole of India. But they are mostly discovered in Malwa, Krishna-Godavari area in Andhra, Maharashtra, Tamilnad and Karnataka. The Sātavāhana kings minted potin, lead, copper and silver coins. Silver coins, however, are not as prolific as the lead and potin coins. They issued coins of different varieties for circulation in different parts of their kingdom. The fabric, motif and metallic content also change from area to area. In the Vidiśā region they issued punch-marked coins but in the other areas they issued die-struck coins. Even the symbols that we find on their coins could be arranged according to area of circulation. From this it becomes clear that Sātavāhana coins had a very wide circulation. Usually the Sātavāhana coins have legends in Brāhmi script of the period on both obverse and reverse and such symbols as lion, elephant, horse, bow, hill, Ujjain etc., on the reverse. As the Sātavāhanas had developed good maritime activity, some of their coins depict two masts which symbolise their matritime activity. In some silver coins are found the busts of the kings who issued them. But such coins are rare.

Sātavāhana coins are generally circular and thick. From the size of the coins, it could be said that they issued coins in many denominations. Usually we notice three sizes and probably many more may be there. The biggest is 1.5" in diameter. The second variety is about 0.9" in diameter and the third variety corresponds to about 0.6" in diameter. And there are many coins which do not conform to any three sizes mentioned above, and they might have been worn out pieces. There is a great divergence in their weight also. The weight ranges from about 320 grains to about 30 grains.

Though Sātavāhana coins contain the names of the kings who issued them, it becomes difficult to identify the issuer of the coins, because more often the legends are fragmentary. Moreover in the Sātavāhana dynasty flourished many kings of the same name. As the Sātavāhana coins do not contain the name of the father or the mother of the issuer, the identification of the kings becomes further difficult.

All the Sātavāhana rulers do not seem to have issued coins. Thus there are many gaps in our knowledge of the Sātavāhana coinage. The coins of the first twenty-one kings mentioned in the Purāṇas have not been found so far. Probably, they did not issue coins at all.

Sātavāhana coins generally do not show any foreign influence in the early period. From this it becomes clear that Sātavāhanas developed the technique of coinage which was locally available in the country itself. These coins, though exhibit originality in their execution, do not show great artistic merit. Generally, the figures and even the legends are crude. But it has to be admitted that the Sātavāhana coinage played a dominant role in the development of coinage of South India and the Deccan. The coins of the early Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas have a close resemblance to those of the Sātavāhanas.

Sātavāhana coinage has received great attention of the numismatists from the early times. The credit of studying these coins in a systematic way should go to Rapson who compiled a volume on the coinage of the Sātavāhanas.[1] Mirashi, Altekar, Rama Rao[2] I.K. Sarma[3] and others have brought to light many Sātavāhana coins. In Karnataka, Wheeler, Narasimhachar and others have brought to light many Sātavāhana coins. Such of the Sātavāhana coins which have been found in Karnataka are studied here.

The Following Sātavāhana kings are represented by their coins in Karnataka:

Sātavāhana ; Sannati
Sātakarṇi II ; Sannati and Hippargi
Puḷumāvi I ; Sannati
Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi ; Banavāsi and Haradanagere
Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi ; Banavāsi and Kundūr
Vāsisṭhīputra Puḷumāvi ; Chandravaḷḷi
Raño Sātakarṇi ; Kundūr

Yajna Śrī Sātakarṇi ; Chandravaḷḷi, Hippargi and Kundūr
Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi ; Banavāsi and Kundūr

King Sātavāhana: Inscribed Sātavāhana coins from Sannati have been described by Varaprasada Rao and among them the coins of king Sātavāhana assumes great significance.[4] It was believed that the rule of the Sātavāhanas started in Karnataka from the time of the later Sātavāhanas. But with the discovery of the coins of Sātavāhana, Sātakarṇi II and Puḷumāvi I, it becomes quite certain that the Sātavāhana rule in Karnataka started from the very early period. Thus the Sannati numismatic evidence has thrown fresh light on the history of the Sātavāhanas in Karnataka.

While discussing the Sātavāhana coins from Sannati, I.K. Sarma has made some important comments on the lead coins of king Sātavāhana.[5] He has recognised three types of coins of this king.

Type 1 is almost egg-shaped and ranges from 21 to 23 mms in diameter and weighs 10.2 gms.

obv: Three arched hill surmounted by a triangle-headed standard over the top arch; legend starting at 7 and ending at 3; it reads *rājno sirī śātavāhanasa* in Brāhmi characters of second century B.C.

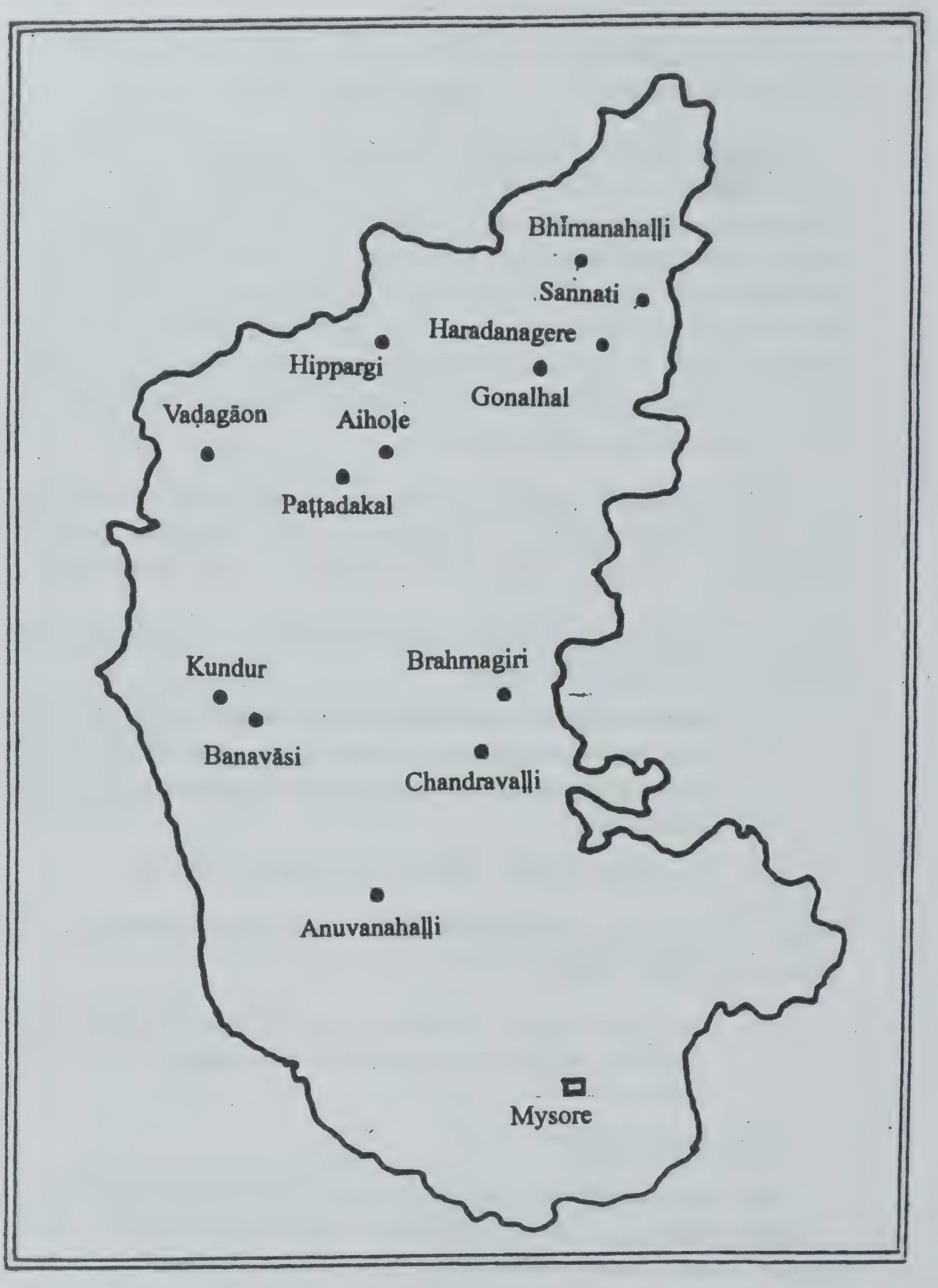
rev: Crescented Ujjain symbol with pellets in the orb.

Type 2 is a variant of the above and its size ranges from 13 to 17 mms and weight ranges from 2.2. to 3.2 gms.

obv: as in type 1 above; taurine on the left and *swastika* on the right; legend starting from 12 and ending at 3 reads *satvaha...*

rev: Ujjain symbol.

The three arched hill with a triangular standard is seen associated with the Mauryas. It may be regarded as their imperial mark. Such symbol is also found on the coins from Nevasa. " The three arched hill is undoubtedly a territorial symbol and the Sātavāhana's rise to


Bhīmanahaḷḷi
Sannati
Haradanagere
Hippargi
Gonalhal
Vaḍagāon
Aihoḷe
Paṭṭadakal
Kundur
Brahmagiri
Banavāsi
Chandravaḷḷi
Anuvanahaḷḷi
Mysore

SATAVAHANA COINS IN KARNATAKA

power was confined first to these three ancient zones of Asika-Asmaka-Mulika in which the northern Karnataka as well as contiguous Andhra-Telingana areas fell. It is quite in fitness of things that king Sātavāhana the second monarch heralded the issue of the coin type with three arched hill surmounted by the triangle-headed standard for circulation in Sannati area to impress on the conquered subjects about the rise of the Sātavāhana power."[6] Thus these coins are of great importance to the early history of Karnataka in general and that of Mauryan period in particular. These coins have shown that the Sātavāhana rulers might have defeated the Mauryan governors stationed here and declared independence from the Mauryas. The position is bound to become clearer with the completion of the large scale excavation and the discovery of antiquities and coins of the Sātavāhanas. Till then we have to be content with the statement " in all probability the erstwhile Mauryan province of Northern Karnataka and the south-western Andhra was annexed by king Sātavāhana, the issuer of the three-arched hill, triangle-headed standard coins, to the Sātavāhana empire."[7]

Sātakarṇi II: The coins of this king have been divided into eleven sub-types depending upon symbols. The following are significant;

Type 1: Size 19 x 15 mm; weight 3.15 gms

obv: Three arched hill over horizontal line; legend *raño ..kaṇisa*

rev: Ujjain symbol with three pellets

Type 2: Size 18 mms; weight 4.8 gms.

obv: Three arched hill with crescent and legend *raño sātakaṇisa.*

rev: Ujjain symbol with pellets.

Type 3: Size 21 x 19 mms; weight 3.4 gms.

obv: Three arched hill; crescent with chisel base over wavy line and legend *sātaka...*

rev: Ujjain symbol, double circle with pellets.

Type 4: Size 17 mms ; weight 3.2 gms.

obv: Three arched hill over horizontal lines and legend *raño .takaṇisa.*

rev: Single orb with pellet.

Type 5: Size 17 mms ; weight 2.3 gms.

obv: Three arched hill with crescent with chisel base over horizontal line and the legend *raño sa ...sa.*

rev: Ujjain symbol, double circle with pellets.

Puḷumāvi I: Two coins from Sannati have been ascribed to Puḷumāvi I because the palaeography of the legend is close to the coins of Sātakarṇi II, as they show early characters, and are stumpy and short. The coins of this king have already been reported from Virapuram, Hyderabad and Kondapur. For the first time they are reported from Karnataka.

Size 20 mms ; weight 3.6 gms.

obv: Three arched hill with chisel base over horizontal line and the legend .. *puḷumāvisa.*

rev: Ujjain symbol with thick pellets and traces of *śrīvatsa* between the orbs.

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi: Coins of this ruler have been reported from Banavāsi, Haradanagere and Sannati. The Sannati coin is as follows;

Type 1: Size 17 mms ; weight 4.4. gms.

obv: Humped bull facing right; *śrīvatsa* and the legend *...puta siri sātakaṇisa.*

rev: Branched tree with leaves.

Type 2 is from Haradanagere;

obv: Three arched hill with a crescent and wavy line below and the legend *raño gotamiputasa siri sātakaṇisa.*

rev: Ujjain symbol with concentric circles.

Type 3: This is from Banavāsi;[8] size 0.6"; weight 4.3 gms.

obv: Humped bull with legend *siri sātakaṇi.*

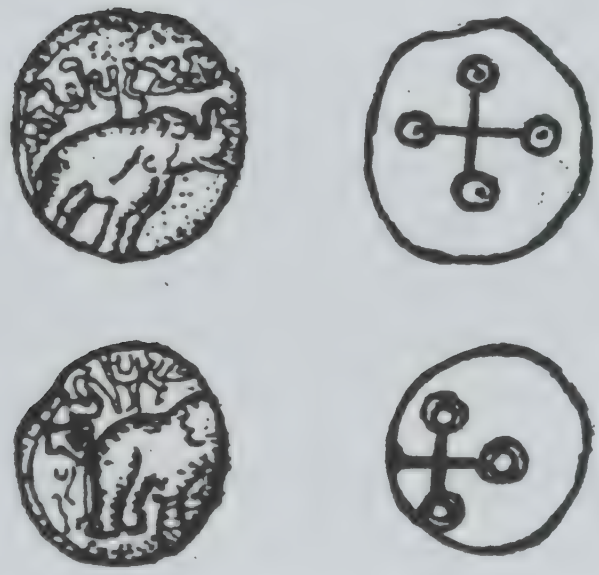
rev: Ujjain symbol with pellet in each orb.

Vāsisṭhīputra Puḷumāvi: One coin of this king was found in the excavations at Chandravaḷḷi (1947).[9]

Size 0.6"; weight 1.6 gms (fragmentary) .

obv: Elephant standing to right with upraised trunk and the legend *......puḷumāvi.*

rev: Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb.



Coins of Puḷumāvi

This coin is similar to the coin of Puḷumāvi found in Chanda, Kondapur, Tarhala and other places.. A similar coin was reported by Krishna from Chitradurga.[10]

Vāsisṭhīputra Sātakarṇi: The coin of this king has been found in the Kundūr hoard.[11] This has been attributed to this king taking palaeography into consideration.

obv: Elephant standing to right with upraised trunk and the legend *raño sātakaṇi.*

rev: Ujjain symbol with pellet in each orb.

Yajna Śrī Sātakarṇi: Two coins of this king were found in the excavations at Chandravaḷḷi.[12] Both the coins belong to the type already known from Kondapur, Tarhala and other places. They range in diameter from 0.7" to 0.75". One of them weighs 3.26 gms while the other weighs 2.56 gms.

obv: Elephant with upraised trunk and the legend *....sātakaṇi...*

rev: Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb

The second coin is almost similar to the above but the legend reads *siriyaṇa sātaka...*

A similar coin was found at Banavāsi.[13] In this specimen the legend is fully clear and reads *Siri Yaṇa Sātakaṇisa.* It is reported from the local people that many such coins were found in a small pot near the Madhukēśvara temple at Banavāsi. The Kundūr hoard has many coins of this king and are similar to the Chandravaḷḷi coin described above. The Hippargi coin is also similar to the above.

Puḷumāvi IV: Coins of this king have been found in Kundūr hoard.

obv: Elephant with upraised trunk and the legend *siri puḷumāvi*

rev: Ujjain symbol with pellet in each orb.

Other coins

In addition to the coins mentioned above which can be definitely attributed to Sātavāhana kings, many coins which cannot be attributed to any particular king have also been discovered.

Krishna notices a potin coin with an elephant on the obverse and Ujjain symbol on the reverse.[14] He reads the legend as *Haku Śrī.* As no king bearing that name has been known to us, it is not possible to ascribe this coin to any particular Sātavāhana king.

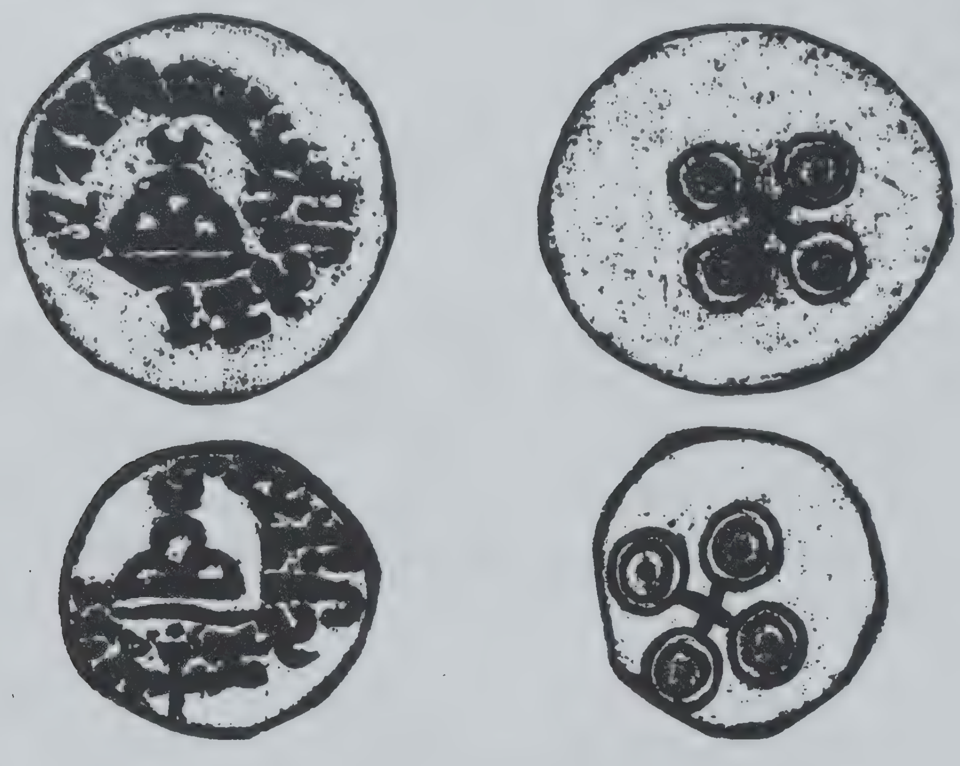
Another Sātavāhana lead coin has been noticed by him.[15] It has a horse on the obverse along with a *Nāga* and a tree in the railing on the reverse. It contains the legend *Śrī Sadaka.* This may in all probability belong to Śrī Sātakarṇi.

N.S. Rangaraju during his exploration at Anuvanahaḷḷi near Chikkamagaḷūr has discovered uninscribed and inscribed coins of the Sātavāhanas as surface collection.[16] Though a detailed study of these coins are yet to be made, it becomes clear that the inscribed coin has a bull on the obverse with the legend *sātakaṇi.* The uninscribed coin has a *śrīvatsa* symbol.

Haradanagere in Shahapur taluk of Gulbarga district yielded a hoard of lead coins of Gautamīputra Sātakakarṇi.[17] Realising the importance of these coins, D.N. Akki of ,Gogi took interest and rescued atleast ten coins of this hoard. These coins were discovered on the banks of the small rivulet which flows closeby. The village has also yielded neolithic, megalithic pottery and early historic antiquities. A trial excavation may be useful here.

All the ten coins found here belong to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi as evidenced by the legend on the obverse which reads *Raño Gotamiputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa* in nail headed Brāhmi characters. In the centre is a three arched hill with a crescent at the top and a wavy line below. The reverse has an elegant Ujjain symbol and the orb of the symbol contains three circles one within the other. The coins are very elegant. One peculiarity of these coins is that the legend in all the cases is in the anti-clockwise direction. The legend starts at 3 and runs in the anti clockwise direction. Three different weights can be recognised in these coins. They are 20, 15 and 10 gms. Their sizes also vary. They range from 3.1 cms to 2.3 cms in diameter. The neameass of the site to the famous Sannati where a large number of

Sātavāhana antiquities and coins have been discovered is worth nothing.



Coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi

A significant hoard of Sātavāhana coins has been reported by Raghunatha Bhat.[18] This hoard is from Kundūr in North Kanara district. It contained about 850 coins of the Sātavāhanas. The coins are made of copper and lead. These coins contain on the obverse an elephant standing with upraised trunk and Brāhmi legend. The reverse has Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each of the orbs.

The legends are in nail headed Brāhmi in Prākrit. The preliminary study has shown that this hoard contains the coins of Siri Sātakarṇi (116-145 A.D.), Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi II (145-152) Raño Sātakarṇi (152-165), Siri Yajna Sātakarṇi (165-194) and Siri Puḷumāvi (203-210 A.D.). Further a detailed study of this hoard may prove more useful in understanding the problem of Sātavāhana coins in Karnataka and their chronology. The nearness of Banavāsi which has yielded many Sātavāhana coins and antiquities may also be of interest in this connection. Hippargi in Bijapur taluk has yielded 18 potin coins of which some of them are worn out. They have a decorated elephant with raised trunk with Brāhmi legend. The reverse has Ujjain symbol. The coins belong to Sātavāhana kings Siri Sātakarṇi, Yajana Śrī Sātakarṇi and Puḷumāvi. Sātavāhana coins have been reported from Bhīmanahaḷḷi and Gonalhal. Further explorations and excavations are bound to yield more Sātavāhana coins as the culture belonging to this period has been reported from many sites, in different parts of Karnataka.

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4. A.V.N. Murthy and I.K. Sarma (Ed); *Śrī Rāmachandrika,* pp 207-215.
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8. *Coins of Southern India,* plate II, No. 43.
9. *Ancient India,* No. 4, p. 291.
10. *MAR.,* 1945, p. 78.
11. *SSIC.,* I, p. 61.
12. *Ancient India,* No. 4, p. 289.
13. *Srikanthika,* p. 290.
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15. *Ibid.,* p. 79.
16. *SSIC.,* VII, p. 61.
17. Akki presented a paper on these coins at the sixth Annual conference of South Indian Numismatic Society held at Mysore in February 1996.
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CHAPTER V

ROMAN COINS IN KARNATAKA

A study of Roman coins in South India forms a fascinating but little known chapter in the history of South India. A large number of Roman coins of gold and silver found in South India and Karnataka testify to a highly flourishing trade between India and Rome during the early part of the first century A.D. In addition to these hoards of Roman coins, many antiquities and pottery having connections with Roman culture have been unearthed at many sites in this area. Further, there are a large number of references to Rome in Indian and Greek literary texts. All these point to an era of brilliant maritime contact between India and Rome in the early centuries of the Christian era. This problem has been exhaustively studied by Sewell in the pages of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*[1] In this paper, Sewell discusses the hoards of Roman coins found in India and analyses their cultural and typological importance. E.H. Warmington has also studied this problem in a wider perspective.[2] H.G. Rawlinson's study includes India's commercial contacts with Rome and its effects on both the countries.[3] Two recent works one by Paula Turner[4] and the other by R. Krishna Murthy[5] are also highly useful. To this category we may include the monographs by Satyamurthy[6] and Krishnasastri.[7] Sir Mortimer Wheeler has also added considerably to our knowledge of this problem by his studies. His work, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers,* analyses the various aspects of the trade between the two countries.[8] Wheeler's excavations at Arikamedu, two miles south of Pondicherry, has added considerably to our knowledge of Roman trade in India.[9] This has given us a reasonable picture of the nature of an ancient settlement including its contact with Roman world. Here was discovered a large ware-house, assignable to the middle of the first century A.D. However, the most important finds at Arikamedu are various types of Roman pottery which were in use till about 200 A.D. Double-handled amphorae used to store wine, large, flat dishes with concentric bands of rouletted pattern and red-glazed ware were important among the pottery found in addition to Roman gems, Roman lamp and Roman glass bowls. From these antiquities, it has been well established that Arikamedu was an Indo-Roman coastal trading station. Probably, this was the same as *Podouke* mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.* By about 200 A.D., this trading station ceased to be important. Thus this excavation has provided good and authentic data for the study of the problem of Roman trade with India.

There were many such trading settlements in South India. This fact is attested to by many references in *Silappadikaram.* There was an extension of the city of Puhar or Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam, at the mouth of the river Kaveri, where was established a Roman trading centre. In all probability, this was the same as *Khaberis emporium,* mentioned by Ptolemy.

Both land and sea routes were quite popular among the merchants to reach India from Rome and to return home after their trade. However, the overland trade route had to pass through Parthia which was hostile. There was also the danger from robbers in this route. Hence the Roman emperors encouraged the direct sea route to India. By about the middle of the first century A.D. Hippalus made the great discovery of the existence monsoon winds blowing regularly across the Indian ocean. This was a great boon to the Roman merchants to sail across the Indian ocean. From the classical Greek and Roman texts it becomes clear that a ship from the mouth of Red sea could voyage to any of the South Indian coastal cities in about six weeks. Thus the Romans could reach India in a shorter time and return with goods from South India without the fear of robbers. With these advantages and facilities, there was a sudden activity on the part of the traders and there was a continuous sea voyage throughout the year. It is quite likely that every day a ship used to arrive at one of the ports of South India.

In the first century A.D., there were four political powers in South India which controlled the coastal trade. The Cheras controlled the sea coast from Calicut to Cape Comorin in which were included famous pepper markets such as *Muziris* (Cranganore) and *Nelcynda* (Kottayam). The Chōḷas had under their command the areas from the Vaigai to Nellore and were the great patrons of sea voyage and controlled trade in Muslin cloth. The Sātavāhanas held the Western coast including ports at Kalyāṇa and Karwar. The Pāṇḍyas controlled the trade in pearl in the region of their command, namely, Madura and Tinnevelly. Thus all these four South Indian powers greatly facilitated the trade with Roman West.

It is a well known fact that South India was very rich in certain commodities which were in great demand by the Roman West. Pepper was the most important of the spices that South India produced. Since the time of Hippocrates, pepper had been well known as an antidote against Malaria and Roman west had to obtain it in very large quantities from India. In fact, it had become a prized commodity in Rome and its trade had become quite enormous in keeping with its great demand.

Another commodity which was in great demand in Rome was the beryl of the sea-green variety. The poets Tibullus and Propertius have given vivid descriptions of Roman women who adorned themselves with gems and beryl supplied by India. There was almost a craze among the elite and fashionable ladies of Rome for beryl and they were prepared to pay any price to purchase this green stone. Padiyur in Coimbatore district was a great centre which produced beryl. Karnataka also had smaller centres from which beryl could be obtained. In addition to beryl, diamonds, sapphires, tortoise-shell and other precious stones were in demand in Rome. Cotton and silk were also exported to Rome by India during this period. India in exchange received gold and silver coins, coral, lead, tin, wine and metal ware. Thus there was an unprecedented flow of Roman money to India during this period. According to Pliny, nearly five million *Sesterces* (half a million sterling) flowed from Rome per year to meet the balance of trade in India and it affected the Roman economy.[10] This is confirmed by Tacitus who mentions a complaint made by emperor Tiberius to the Roman Senate in 22 A.D. He asked "how are we to deal with the peculiar articles of feminine vanity and in particular with that rage for jewels and precious trinkets which drain the empire of its wealth and sends in exchange for babuls, the money of the Common Wealth to foreign nations?" The opinion of Tacitus is corroborated by the discovery of a large number of Roman hoards all over India in general and South India in particular.

According to Wheeler, the Roman trade with India could be divided into two categories.[11] The terminal trade included commodities produced in India itself. The transit trade dealt mainly with objects which reached the Indian markets from China and other parts of Asia. Both these categories of trade met in such ports as Broach. Whatever may be the trade, there was a regular flow of Roman gold and silver coins into India. The Roman currency was used for buying such Indian commodities which the Roman merchants could not get in exchange for their own commodities like wine. However, Warmington thinks that the large quantities of Roman gold and silver coins found in India were the results of the deliberate exportation of Roman money to India with a view to create a Roman currency there. It is very difficult to accept this opinion. Indians were more interested in the metallic contents of the Roman coins than in the coins themselves. This becomes clear from the fact that the Roman merchants were very careful in bringing genuine and pure gold coins which were issued during the early Roman emperors to Indian markets. If the gold was not pure the Indian merchants would not accept such coins. Indians did not recognise Roman coins as currency. They hoarded the gold and silver coins or made ornaments from them after testing their purity.

Of the large number of Roman coins found in India, majority of them are discovered in South India. Of a total of sixty-eight hoards, fifty-seven are found in the area south of the Vindhya mountain. Rarity of the Roman coins in North India is due to the fact that most of these coins were melted and were restruck by the Kushan rulers. Sewell describes the Roman coins found in South India as 'several cooly loads' and 'some thousands enough to fill five or six Madras *koḷagas.*'[12] From the typology of these Roman coins, Sewell estimates the flow of these coins according to chronology. As Roman coins of the Consulate period are very rare, it may be presumed that there was hardly any commerce between Rome and India during the Consulate period. Since the various South Indian hoards contain a large number of coins of Augustus and Tiberius, it becomes clear that the peak period of this trade was during the reigns of these two emperors. There was a decline in Roman trade from the time of the death of Nero till the date of Caracalla. Then it ceased to have any impact. However, there was a revival during the Byzantine emperors. V.A. Smith and others do not accept the opinion of Sewell that the Roman trade began to decline with the death of Nero. They argue that this trade continued even after the third century A.D.

Compared to other southern states the Roman coins found in Karnataka are numerically less. However, from a typological point of view they make an interesting study. Of the many commodities in which Rome showed interest in buying, mention should be made of pepper and beryl. In fact Karnataka was a land of growing pepper. The *Malanāḍ* as well as the South Kanara area grow pepper in large quantities even today. Deposits of beryl are found in many places in Karnataka and many ancient workings have been noticed. At many places in Karnataka Roman pottery and other antiquities have been noticed and hence it is possible to state that Roman merchants stayed in some of these places temporarily till their commercial activities were completed. Such sites also point towards the Roman contacts with Karnataka.

Exactly one hundred years ago, the first discovery of Roman coins was made in Karnataka. When the Railway track was being laid at Yeshwantapur in Bangalore, the labourers noticed these coins.[13] Mr. Maile, a railway official came across an earthen pot one and a half feet below the ground. On examination it yielded 163 Roman silver *denerii* in a good state of preservation. This was examined by Lewis Rice, the then Director of Archaeology. He realised the importance of these coins and published a note. These coins belonged to Augusts, Antonia, Tiberius, Claudius and Caligula ranging in date from 23 B.C. to 51 A.D. The following types are found in this.

Augustus (four types)

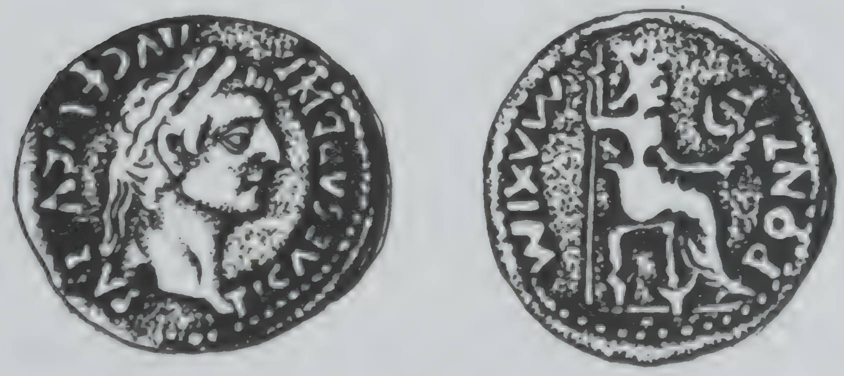
Type 1. obv: Head of Augustus, legend AVGVSTVS DIVI F
rev: Bull charging to right with head down, in the exergue IMP X

Type 2. obv: Head of Augustus to right, laureate, legend CAESER AVGVSTVS F PATER DIVI PATRIE
rev: Gaius and Lucius standing with spears and bucklers between them, legend C.L CAESERES AUGUSTI F COS DESIG PRINC JUVENI

Type 3. obv: As in 1 above.
rev: Horseman at full gallop with infantry standard behind, legend AVG...

Type 4. obv: As in 2 above.
rev: Head of Augustus to left with legend TI CAESER AVG F TR POT.

Tiberius (one type): This is the most popular type found in Karnataka at many places. Even the coin moulds discovered here belong to this type of Tiberius.



Coin of Tiberius

obv: Head of Tiberius to right, legend TI CAESER DIVI AVG F.

rev: Vesta seated on a square stool with spear in right hand and an olive branch in the left, legend PONTIF MAXIM.

Antonia (One type)

obv: Head of Antonia to right, legend ANTONIA AVGVSTA

rev: Two upright torches connected with a fillet, legend SACERDOS DIVI AUGVSTI.

Caligula (one type)

obv: Head of Caligula, legend C CAESER AVG GERM P M TR POT.

rev: Head of Augustus, legend DIVVS AUG PATER PATRIAE

Claudius (three types)

Type 1. obv: Head of Claudius to right, legend TI CLAVD CAESER AVG GERM P M TR POT

rev: Oak leaves and legend EX SC OB CIVES SERVATO

Type 2. obv: as in 1 above

rev: Constancy seated on a stool, right hand raised, legend CONSTANTLA AVGVSTI.

Type 3. obv: Head of Claudius, legend TI CLAD CAESER AVG PM TR P VI IMP XI

rev: Winged female figure to right, right hand raised with a necklace, holding Caduceus and a serpent is gliding away, legend PACI AVG.

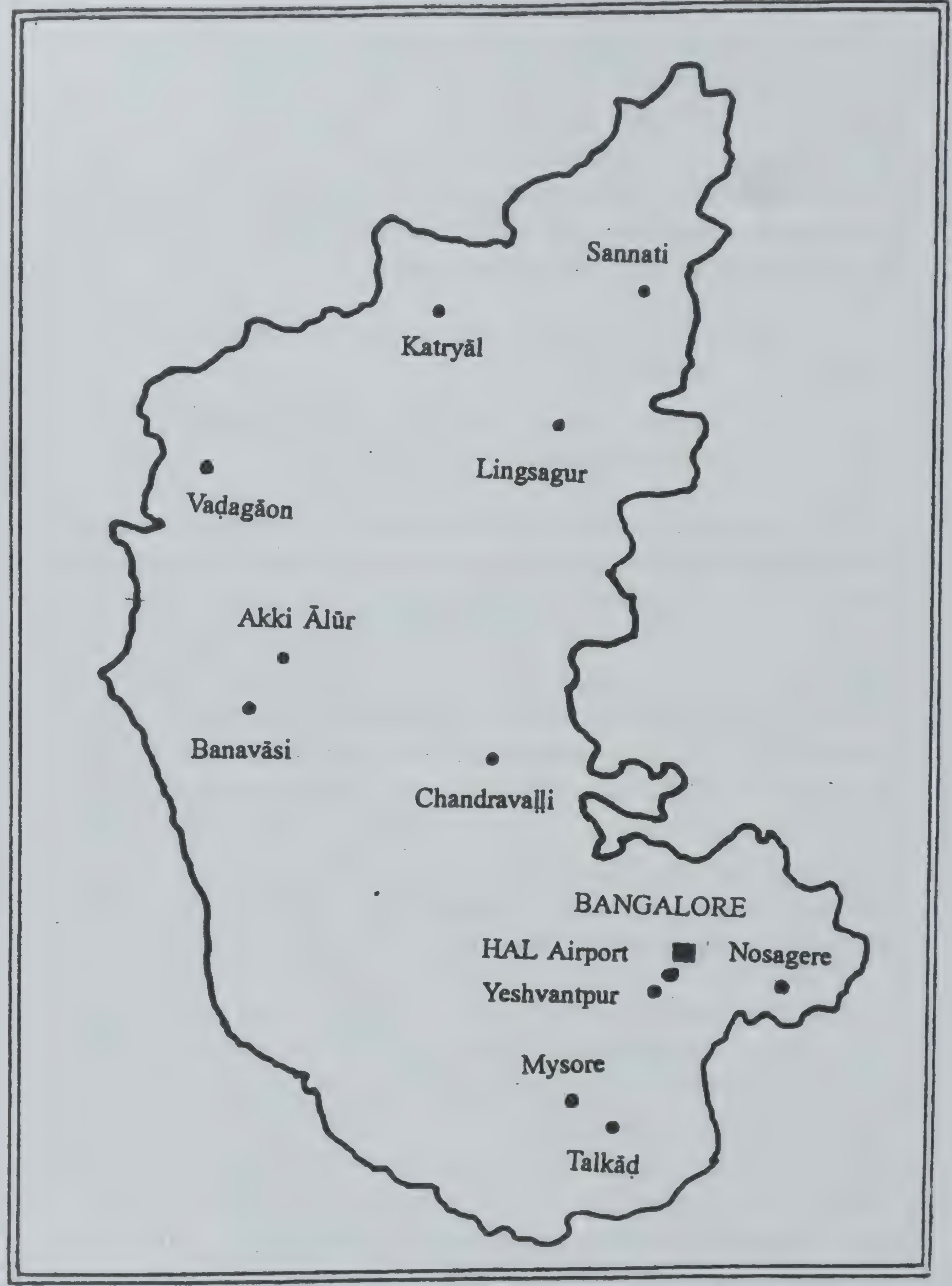
For over half a century there was a lull in finding Roman coins in Karnataka. It was only in 1947 when Wheeler conducted excavations at Chandravaḷḷi, he found a Roman *denerius* of the time of Tiberius.[14] It is round with a diameter of 0.7 inch and a weight of 2.89 grams. This belongs to the late *Livia Pax* type of Tiberius and was probably minted between 26-37 A.D. It is slightly different from the one noticed in the Yeshwantapur hoard.

obv: Head of Tiberius, legend TI CAESER DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS

rev: Female figure seated on a stool holding an olive branch, legend PONTIF MAXIM.

M.H. Krishna also conducted excavations at Chandravaḷḷi when he was the Director of Mysore Archaeological Department. Many Roman coins are said to have been found during the excavations.[15] But their details are not known. It is said that a silver coin of Augustus was found at this site as early as 1909. It had the head of Augustus on the obverse and Gaius and Lucius on the reverse. This coin seems to have been lost. M.H. Krishna identified two silver coins of Tiberius, the details of which are not available. Even Wheeler noted six Roman *denerii* but their details are not also available. From all these facts, it becomes clear that Chandravaḷḷi was potentially an important site for Roman coins but not properly recorded due to various reasons. Fresh explorations and excavations here may yield more Roman coins.

The next important discovery was made in 1965 at Bangalore HAL Airport. The labourers digging at the site noticed a long-necked jar which contained 256 Roman silver coins. They were associated with well known pottery types such as russet coated kaolin ware and red and black ware. It is worth remembering the fact that Yeshwantapur is very close to HAL Airport in Bangalore. The HAL hoard contained the coins of Augustus and Tiberius only. The coins of Augustus were 29 in number and the remaining 227 belonged to Tiberius. The following types are represented in this hoard.


Sannati
Katryāl
Lingsagur
Vaḍagāon
Akki Ālūr
Banavāsi
Chandravaḷḷi
BANGALORE
HAL Airport
Nosagere
Yeshvantpur
Mysore
Talkāḍ

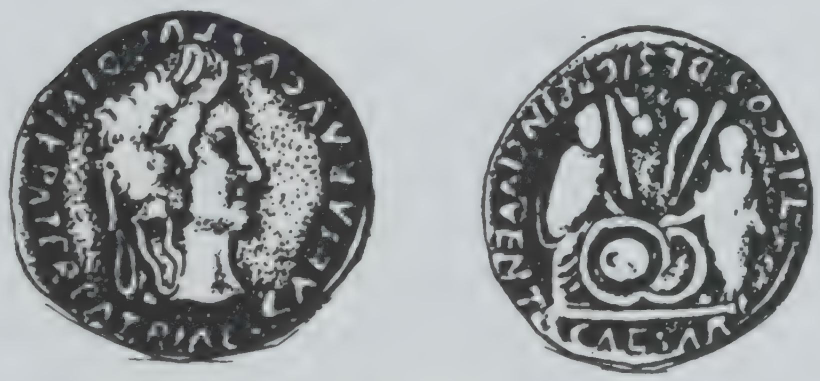
ROMAN COINS IN KARNATAKA

Augustus (two types)

Type 1. obv: As in type 1 of Yeshwantapur

rev: Standing figures of Gaius and Lucius and bucklers and shield between; divining rod and the laddle at the top; legend CAESER AVGVSTI F COS DESG PRINC IVVENT.

This is also one of the most popular Roman coins found in Karnataka. Almost all the Roman hoards discovered in Karnataka have this type of coin of Augustus. Perhaps this may reflect the maximum trade during this period.



Coin of Augustus

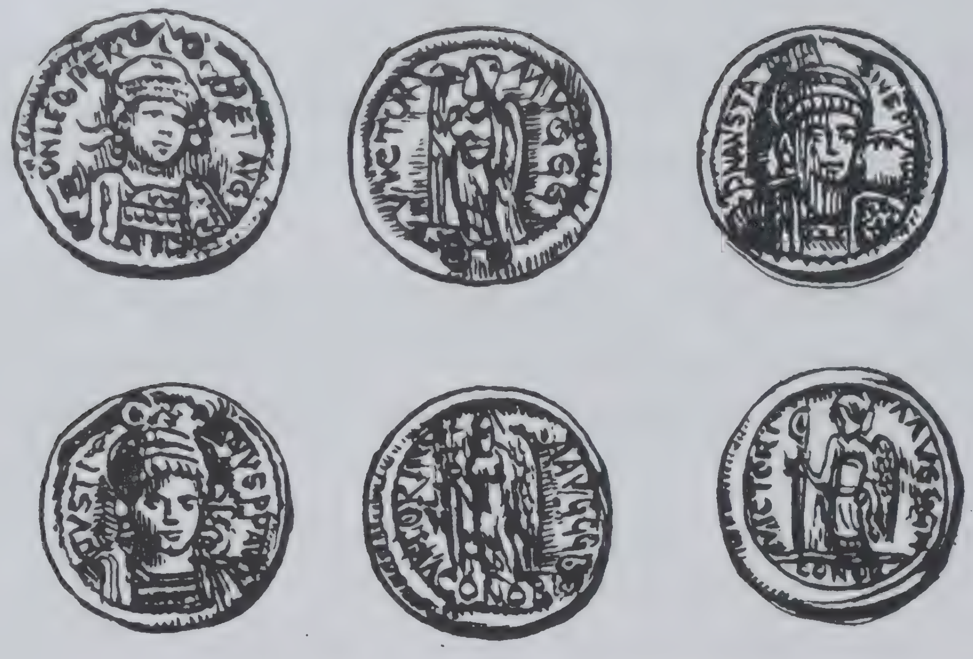
Type 2. obv: Head of Tiberius, legend TI CAESER DIVI AVG F AUGUSTUS.

rev: Tiberius standing in quadriga holding a branch in his right hand and an eagle tipped sceptre in his left; legend IMP VII T R POT XVI.

Tiberius (one type)

obv: Head of Tiberius, legend TI CAESER DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS.

rev: Female figure sitting on a stool with a long sceptre in the right and olive branch in the left hands; legend MAXIM PONTIF.



Byzantine coins (Akki-Ālūr)

All these coins are minted at Lagdunum mint. From a perusal of the above types it becomes clear that coins of Augustus nd Tiberius are more in number and hence the possibility of the suggestion that Roman trade was at its maximum during the period of these two emperors. But the discovery of early Byzantine gold coins from Akki Ālūr in Hangal taluk of Dharwad district in 1977 shows that the trade continued even upto fifth century. Along with these 43 gold coins were found three coins of the Roman emperors Septimus Severus (193-211 A.D) and his son Caracalla (211-217 A.D.). The 43 coins belong to the Byzantine emperors of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. It is important to note that not many coins of the Byzantine emperors of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., have been found from South India and hence the present hoard extends the chronological horizon of Roman commercial activity in Karnataka upto sixth century A.D. All the Byzantine coins of this hoard were minted at Constantinople.

These coins belong to Byzantine emperors Theodosius (402-450), Marcian (450-457), Leo I (457-474), Zeno (474-491), Anastasius (491-518) and Justin I (518-527). The coins are fresh and no traces of any wear by circulation is seen on them. This leads one to suspect if they were replicas meant for jewellery as many of them have two holes at the top. There are also many mistakes in legends. Obviously the replica makers should have seen the originals and made these imitations locally. These coins fall into the following types.

Theodosius (five types)

Type 1. obv: Head; legend DN THEODOSIUS P F AVG.
rev: Constantinopolis seated holding cross and sceptre in right and left hands, star, shield and CONOB.

Type 2. obv: As in 1 above.
rev: As in 1 above but the legend CONCORDI AVVGGG.

Type 3. obv: As in 1 above.
rev: As in 1 above but the legend IMP XXXXII COS XBII PP.

Type 4. obv: As in 1 above.
rev: Emperor standing with labarum and cross in right and left hands, legend GLOR ORVI TERRAR.

Type 5. obv: As in 1 above.
rev: Victory standing left with a cross in right hand, legend VICTORI A AVGGG O.

Marcian (one type)

obv: Head, legend DN MARCIA NVS PF AVG.
rev: As in type 5 above.

Leo I (two type)

Type 1. obv: Head, legend DN LEO PERPET AVG.
rev: As in type 5 above, legend VICTORI A AVGGG A CONOB.

Type 2. obv: As in above.
rev: Similar to 3 of Theodosius.

Zeno (one type)

obv: Head, legend DN ZENO PERP AVG.
rev: As in type of Theodosius.

Anastasius (one type)

obv: Head, legend DN ANASTASIUS P F AVG.
rev: As in 5 of Theodosius.

Justin (one type)

obv: Head, legend DN JUSTINUS P P AVG.
rev: As in 5 of Theodosius.

There is one coin which has not been identified. It has on the obverse the legend ORHYERSIVS PE VG and the reverse is similar to type 5 of Theodosius showing victory. This may either belong to Theodosius or Anastasius as the name ending indicates. There are minor variations as in the case of officiana in some of the above coins but they are not treated as separate types. Inspite of the mistakes and the jewellery nature of these coins, they are useful from the chronological point of view.

Another doubtful Byzantine coin belonging to Leo I has been reported from Katryal in Bijapur district.[18] It is said that the above hoard contained 22 coins and they were distributed to various museums including the Prince of Wales museum in Mumbai. However, the description of these coins is not available.

It is reported that a Roman *aureus* belonging to king Commodus was found in 1882 at Mysore and the founder sold this to the Madras Government museum at Chennai.[19] It is as follows.

obv: Head of Commodus, legend LAEL AVREL COMM AVG P FEL
rev: Commodus as Hercules standing with a club in his left arm and a lion's skin pendant from the arm; right hand resting on a trophy of arms.

Another Roman copper coin is reported to have been found at Vaḍagāon, a village near Belgaum.[20] No other details of this coin are known. About 30 Roman *denerii* have been reported from Belgaum. They are said to belong to Tiberius and were sold to collectors in USA.[21]

Recently, R. Gopal has published three Roman and one Byzantine coin from two different sites.[22] Three gold Roman coins were found at Nosagere in Malur taluk of Ḳolar kept in a pot which was noticed by playing children. The pot contained three gold coins and jewellery. The coins are in bad shape. They are circular and contain traces of legend and portraits on both sides. Besides they have two holes at the top which show that they were used as pendants.

Coin 1. Weight 2.36 gms; diameter 2.1 cms

Coin 2. Weight 5.16 gms; diameter 2.1 cms

Coin 3. Weight 2.9 gms; diameter 2.2. cms

Both sides have portraits and legends which are highly indistinct. It has been suggested that the above coins are actually pendants made from Roman imitations. These imitations are always crude and do not bear any likeness to the portraits of Roman emperors. In all probability the present coins seem to have been made from the imitations of the coins of Septimus Severus (193-211). This is the first discovery in Kolar district.

A Byzantine gold coin was found at Lingsugūr in Raichur district.[23] It is a circular gold coin, ; weight 4.17 gms; diameter 2.3 cms

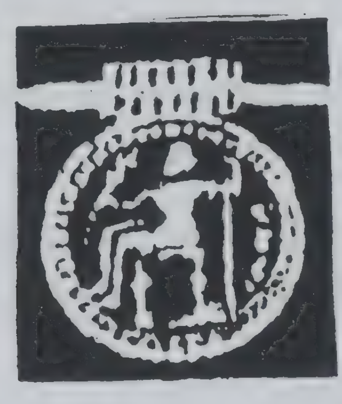
obv: Emperor with a typical head gear; the bust is facing front; legends on both sides (not clear)

rev: A standing figure with a long sceptre in left hand and legend on both sides

The coin has two holes at the top. There is a slashing mark at the bottom of the coin almost ending upto the mouth of the figure; this is seen on both sides of the coin. Slash mark and defective legend show that it is a poor imitation perhaps, manufactured locally. This was also manufactured to be used as a pendant. However, it testifies to the impact of Roman coins in this part of Karnataka as well.

Almost a decade ago M.C. Wadeyar, a prominent person and the *Mokhtesar* of the local Madhukēśvara temple at Banavāsi (North Kanara district, Karnataka) discovered a piece of artistically carved stone. As a person greatly interested in numismatics, he could recognise it as an important antiquity and carefully preserved it along with many precious coins he had collected earlier. In the meantime it came to the perusal of knowledgeable persons who recognised it as something connected with Roman coins. Later when an Archaeological Museum was established by the Archaeological Survey of India in the premises of the Madhukēśvara temple at Banavāsi, Wadeyar donated this mould to the museum. Thus now this mould is exhibited in the Archaeological Museum at Banavasi.

Before closing this account, it is necessary to refer to two Roman coin moulds found at Banavāsi,[24] and Talkad.[25]



Banavāsi Roman coin mould

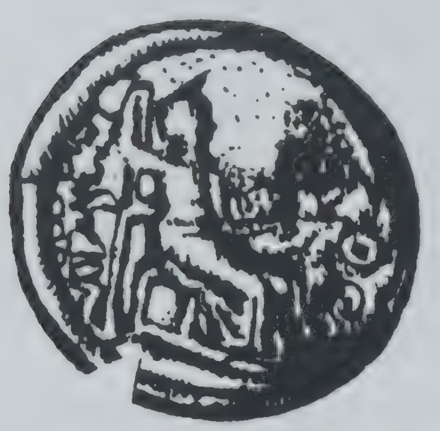
The mould is made of fine grained agate which is almost black in colour. It is rectangular in shape and measures 1.9 x 1.4 x 0.8 inches. It has a groove at the top which also measure 0.9 x 0.4 x 0.2 inches. On the inner flat surface is carved the design and hence it can be called as one half of the mould and the other half is yet to be discovered.

The carving practically covers the entire stone in the centre. It is circular and a lady is seated in the centre. Round her are dotted lines in a circular manner. The lady is sitting on a decorated chair, the two legs of which are very clear. Her legs rest on a foot-stool. She holds a sceptre in her right hand and a branch of tree in her left. Towards the sceptre, almost touching the dotted line are seen some letters which can be made out as MAXIM. The legend on the other side is not clear.

Now coming back to the mould itself, it contains a hook or a loop above the circular portion and from that it becomes clear that it was meant to make a pendant. Perhaps the Roman gold coins had become so prolific and popular, that people thought it a fashion and prestige to wear such pendants of the coins. It is worth noting that it does not contain any religious symbol or god or goddess acceptable to the Hindus and hence it could have been just a fashion or prestige. So the present mould should have been used to prepare such pendants and not to make counterfeit coins. The very presence of a hook or a loop at the top precludes the possibility of this as a coin making device. In this connection it may be noted that some coins in the Akki Ālūr hoard mentioned above contains hooks or loops at the top of the coins. In that case they might have been manufactured from similar moulds. As the other half of the mould is not yet found, it is not possible to know the obverse or the other side of the mould. Finally it has to be stated that the mould is of great importance. It shows the connection and the popularity of the Roman coins in the early centuries of the Christian era. The popularity of wearing Roman coins as pendants in Karnataka and its possible manufacture here are also points of great interest for future investigations.

Talkād, the ancient capital of the Western Gangas was taken up for a large scale excavation by the Karnataka State Department of Archaeology in collaboration with the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, Mysore University.[26]

A significant discovery of the early historic period is that of a kiln. This kiln had lot of ash in it and was provided with a copper



Talkad Roman coin mould

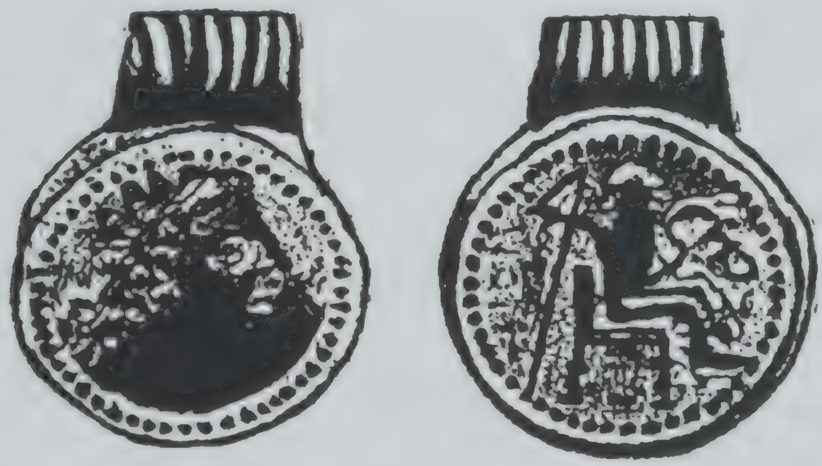
pipe through which the air was blown. Very near the kiln were found small crucibles used for melting the metals. Thus it was in use during the period. This is the first kiln to be found in Karnataka in the context of early historic period datable to first century A.D.

About a foot from the kiln was found a terracotta coin mould representing the reverse side of the gold coin of Roman emperors Augustus and Tiberius. The mould has the figure of a lady (Livia) sitting on a tall seat holding a sceptre in her right hand and a branch of a tree in her left.

On the right is the legend MAXIM and to the left is the legend PONTIFF. The mould is exactly of the same size as that of the gold and silver coins of the emperors Augustus and Tiberius. It is very significant to note that the mould was found very near the kiln. On the basis of this, it may be concluded that this mould was used by the goldsmith. From stratigraphic position it appears that the mint was in use in the period from first to third century A.D. In that case it becomes the first known mint.

Now the question is the purpose for which this coin mould was used. Perhaps the goldsmith was minting counterfeit Roman gold coins which were in great demand during the period. If that is so this becomes a contemporary counterfeit coin equipment. It is also possible that the goldsmith was using this mould to prepare a pendant required for a necklace. In that case one or two holes were to be made on the coin after its manufacture. In this connection it is worth remembering that many Roman coins found in South India had two holes at the top which show that they were used as pendants. Whatever might have been the real use of the present mould, it is very significant that it is found in a stratified context and is a contemporary evidence for the use and popularity of Roman coins in Karnataka.

D.V. Devaraj has published a terracotta Roman pendant found at Sannati excavations.[27] The circular pendant has a diameter of 2 cms and has a loop at the top. One side has the portrait of king Tiberius within a circle of dots but without any legend. the other side has a female figure seated on a stool holding a sceptre.



Pendant from Sannati

From the above study of Roman coins and other antiquities the following points emerge:

1. The coins of Augustus and Tiberius are more as compared to those of other emperors.
2. Other emperors represented here are Antonia, Caligula, Claudius, Septimus Severus and Caracalla.
3. The presence of early Byzantine gold coins of Theodosius II, Marcian, Leo I, Zeno, Anastasius and Justinus are noteworthy.
4. The discovery of coin moulds is significant.
5. From the chronological point of view the coins range from 21 B.C. to 527 A.D. Of course there are some gaps in between.

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12. *JRAS.,* 1904, p. 591.
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27. *SSIC.,* VII, pp. 45-48.

CHAPTER VI

THE COINS OF THE KADAMBAS OF BANAVĀSI

The Kadambas of Banavāsi, who ruled from fourth century to seventh century A.D. in western parts of Karnataka occupy a prominent place in the political and cultural history of Karnataka. They succeeded the Sātavāhanas and Chuṭus and opened a new chapter in the dynastic history of Karnataka. In fact, the history of Karnataka dynasties begins with the Kadamabas of Banavāsi. In many respects they are the inaugurators of the cultural traditions of Karnataka. The well known Tāḷagunda inscription and the recently discovered Gudnapur inscription mention their political and cultural achievements. But when we take up the study of the coins, we would be disappointed for no authentic information has been obtained with regard to their coinage.

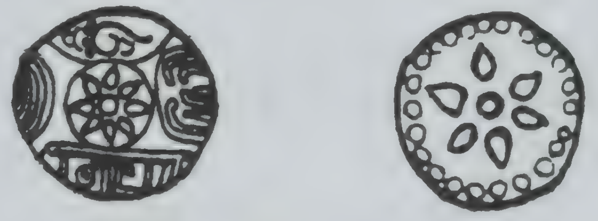
Moraes who has made a valuable study of the various families of the Kadambas, believes that though there is no authentic numismatic information regarding the early Kadambas of Banavāsi they enjoyed the royal privilege of issuing coins.[1] The Pallavas and the Chalukyas of Bādāmi were the contemporaries of the Kadambas of Banavāsi and the coins of the former two dynasties have come to light. Hence Moraes thinks that the Kadambas also issued coins. In fact there is a general belief among the numismatists that the coinage of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi is based upon the coinage of the Kadambas of Banavāsi.[2] The Kadambas are considered the originators of the coins known as the Padmaṭanka which was popular in South India for many centuries. Padmaṭankas are round and cup shaped small and thin coins. They have a prominent lotus punched in the centre, in addition to various symbols punched on sides. Because of these punches, the flat thin piece assumed the shape of a low cup. The coins of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Sēvuṇas of Dēvagiri belong to this type with some modifications.

But Chattopadhyaya has tried to argue that the so called coins of the Kadambas of Banavāsi do not go back to 5th or 6th century A.D. but they may be attributed to 12th century A.D.[3] According to him "the only known milestones in the chronology of the punch-marked variety of South Indian gold coins were the coins of the Kalyāṇi Chālukya rulers..."[4] If the Kadambas had also issued the punch-marked coins in 5th or 6th century A.D., then he finds a gap from the time of the Kadambas to the time of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa in respect of punch-marked coins, and he thinks that this chronological gap is difficult of any satisfactory explanation. Further he tries to strengthen his argument by dating the Ramdurg hoard which contained two Kadamba Padmaṭankas in association with the coins of a ruler, Daṇḍinagōva, who ruled in 12th century A.D. From these arguments he concludes that the so called Padmaṭankas of the early Kadambas cannot be earlier than 12th century A.D.

The arguments of the above writer are based upon weak foundations. We have already seen that the punch-marked coins in Karnataka are dated to the early centuries of the Christian era on stratigraphical evidence. On the basis of the arguments of Chattopadhyaya, if we assume the date of the punch-marked coins to be 12th century A.D., the gap between the earliest punch-marked coins and the 12th century Kalyāṇa Chālukya coins becomes wider than as thought of by Chattopadhyaya. Further the association of Daṇḍinagōva coins of 12th century A.D. with the punch-marked coin in the Rāmdurg hoard does not fix the date of the latter. The discovery of coins of different dynasties and of different centuries together in the same hoard is common in numismatic history. Hence the arguments of Chattopadhyaya are not supported by facts and we may continue to belive that the Kadamba coins can be dated to 5th or 6th century A.D.

As most of these coins attributed to the early Kadambas have been found in Banavāsi, their attribution to the Kadambas of Banavāsi can be taken as authentic in the present state of our knowledge of numismatics. As we have already seen, all scholars generally believe that the Kadambas of Banavāsi inaugurated the tradition of issuing Padmaṭankas in gold. Elliot ascribed two coins found at Sunda to the Kadambas of Goa.[5] One of them weighed 58.52 grains.[6] On the obverse of this coins is seen a central punch of a lotus and round this are seen punches containing retrospectant lions. The reverse has a scroll ornament and two indented marks. This coin can be taken as one of the issues of the Kadambas of Banavāsi.

Moraes has brought to light many more coins which can ascribed to the Kadambas of Banavāsi.[7] He ascribes the four similar gold coins found in the Museum of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society to the Kadambas. They contain the usual central punch of a lotus and smaller punches of lion on the obverse and scroll ornamentation or a *padma* on the reverse.



Padmaṭanka coins

Moraes has referred to a hoard of Kadamba coins found in Satara. He has attributed them to various Kadamba kings. Five of these coins contain the legend *Vira* in old Kannaḍa characters. This could be a mistake for *Ravi.* Hence these coins could be ascribed to Kadamba Ravivarman.

The Satara hoard referred to above, contains four gold Padmaṭankas on which is seen the legend *Skandha.* If *Skandha* is taken as a mistake for Kanga, the coins in question can be attributed to Kadamba ruler Kangavarman.

There is also a similar coin in the museum of the St. Xaviers College, Bombay. It has many punches with Kannaḍa letter *Śrī* and the legend *Baghi* in Kannaḍa characters. The reverse of this coin is plain. This coin can be attributed to Bhagīratha, one of the rulers of the Kadambas of Banāvasi.

Moraes has ascribed a coin in Elliot's collection[8] to Bhagīratha's successor Raghu. This coin bears the punch of a lion and contains the legend *Kadamba* in Devanāgari. The reverse has a legend *ra* the first syllable of Raghu's name. Hence Moraes has ascribed this coin to Kadamba Raghu.

Elliot has assigned a coin which contains the legend *bhujaṁ*(?) and *ankuśa* to the early Kadambas.[9] The representation of *ankuśa* is generally seen in the coins of the Kadambas of Goa. Hence this coin may belong to that dynasty.

Krishna has described two Padmaṭankas as belonging to the Kadamas of Banavāsi.[10] They weigh 66.8 grains and contain the central punch of a lotus with smaller punches of lions. Their reverses also contain same punches, prominent among them being the punches of flower. The first coin contains lotus and other punch marks and the second lotus and lion. Hence they may be subvarieties of the Padmaṭankas of the Kadambas of Banavāsi.

Coin 1:

obv: A large eight-petalled lotus flower; four alternate petals like conches.

rev: Six small punches; the four square punches contain a small flower each; the remaining two punches are blank.

Coin 2:

obv: Within a circle of dots is a large petalled lotus with a pellet in between petals.

rev: Within a circle of dots a standing lion to left.

Sohanlal Sisodiya attributed some rectangular and square copper coins to the Kadambas of Banavāsi.[11] They contain a standing horse on the obverse with either a sacrificial post *(yūpa)* or an *ankuśa* and other symbols. The reverse has three peaked hill with some minor symbols. He attributed them to the Kadambas of Banavāsi on the ground that the horse represented the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice which

Mayūraśarma is said to have performed. Secondly, the three peaked hill symbolised the Traikūṭakas whom Mayūraśarma is said to have defeated. But P.L. Gupta in his editorial comment contradicted the opinion of Sisodiya on many grounds.[12] Firstly, *yūpa* was not represented on all the coins; the reverse symbol may be termed as three hill but not as three peaked hill *(trikūṭa);* three hills do not suggest Traikūṭakas; the motifs on these coins can never be called heraldic; the un-inscribed nature of these coins suggests that they are of earlier date, perhaps belonging to first century A.D.; finally, they have been found near Kanchi and Madurai and not near Banavāsi. To this we may add that the recent reading of the Chandravaḷḷi inscription of Mayūraśarma does not contain any reference to his victory over the Traikūṭakas nor the performance of the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice.[13] From all these evidences, it may be suggested that the coins in question were not the issues of the Kadambas of Banavāsi.

The Kadamba coins found in the Rāmdurg hoard may now be described.[14] These coins were found in 1950 in Mudakavi, 6 miles from Rāmdurg, Belgaum District, in an earthen pot. The hoard contained twelve coins of which two were the gold Padmaṭankas and the remaining were of Daṇḍingōva. No. 12 of these is similar to No. 67 of Elliot's Plate II.

obv: The central symbol is the *Padma* within a square of dots.

rev: Within a circle of dots is a scroll ornamentation.

Coin No. 11, is slightly different.

obv: The central lotus symbol and four other punches and a *swastika.*

rev: As above in No. 12.

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CHAPTER VII

COINS OF THE WESTERN GANGAS

The Gangas of Talkāḍ, who dominated the political scene of Karnataka from fourth century to tenth century A.D. contributed a good deal to the development of Karnataka culture. The history of this great family of rulers is still in confusion because of a large number of spurious copper plates which have been discovered. At one time, Fleet dismissed almost all the Ganga copper plates as spurious. Though some scholars accept some of the copper plates of the Gangas as genuine, no satisfactory picture of the chronology and genealogy of the Gangas of Talkāḍ has emerged till now. The position is not very different with regard to coinage of the Ganga period also. So far, no coin definitely ascribable to the rulers of this dynasty has been reported. As the Gangas had elephant as their royal emblem, some of the uninscribed coins with elephant on their obverse have been ascribed to the Gangas of Talkāḍ. Till confirmatory evidence is available, this has to be accepted with some reservation.

References to coins are very few in the inscriptions of the Gangas. In fact most of the inscriptions mention gifts of land and monetary gifts are very small in number. The Noṇamangala plates of Konganivarma in fifth or sixth century characters mentions a grant of one fourth *Kārshāpaṇa* to a *Jinālaya.*[1] The word *Kārshāpaṇa* is also mentioned in the Pērūr plates of Simhavarman written in fifth century characters.[2] It is of interest to note that the traditional *Kārshapaṇa* as a coin was still in use during the period. It is also possible that it was a gold coin, *gadyāṇa,* referred to by that name. The Kerehaḷḷi plates of Nītimārga Ereganga dated 906 A.D. refers to 20 *Nishkas* as the *siddhāya* of the village.[3] Generally in Sanskrit inscriptions the highest gold coin is referred to as *Nishka* and hence the coins in question should be a *gadyāṇa.*

Gadyāṇa is mentioned in the Krishṇāpur inscription of Satyavākya Permmānaḍi, dated 919 A.D.[4] The epigraph refers to a *kalnāḍu* grant which consisted of many taxes including *Komara gadyāṇa.* Perhaps this was a tax connected with *Kumāra* or the prince. The Kūḍalūr grant of Mārasimha dated 962 A.D. also refers to 20 *gadyāṇas* as the income of the village.[5]

The word *paṇa* occurs in the Īchavāḍi inscription written in tenth century characters.[6] Whether the word *paṇa* refers to a specific coin or simply money cannot be made out. The grant was made by the chief queen (name lost).

Dīnāra as a coin is mentioned in the Kukkanūr plates of Mārasimha II dated 968 A.D.[7] The *siddhāya* of the village is mentioned as ninetynine *dīnāras.* It is not known if *dīnāra* as a coin was used in daily transactions. The reference may be to a gold coin *gadyāṇa.*

The above epigraphical data shows that coins were in use. They are *Kārshāpaṇa, Gadyāṇa, Dīnāra* and *Paṇa.* Their relative value is not referred to in any Ganga inscription. Actual specimens have shown that the weight of a *gadyāṇa* was about 60 grains. Hence on the analogy of the Bādāmi Chalukya coins, *Paṇa* should have weighed 6 grains. Coins which weigh 1.5 grains may be termed as *hāga.* It may be tabulated as follows:

Gadyāṇa = 60 grains
1 *gadyāṇa* = 10 *paṇas* = 60 grains
1 *paṇa* = 4 *hāga* = 6 grains
1 *hāga* = 1.5 grains

M.H. Krishna has described five types of coins of the Gangas.[8] These coins are in gold and copper. The gold coins vary from 58 to 59 grains in weight. They may be *Varaha* coins. Other type of gold coins weigh about 6 grains and they are taken as gold *haṇas.* Such of the gold coins which weigh 1.5 grains represent the quarter *haṇas.*

Krishna has illustrated a gold coin which may be described as follows:

obv: Large caparisoned tusker elephant standing to right; ornamented with girdles, wreaths, jinglings, anklets. The trunk is long and hangs down; floral ornamentation on each side of the trunk; above is a legend in old Kannaḍa *Teva* or *Deva.*

rev: A complex floral design occupying the whole of the reverse.

This coin is similar in typology to the coins of the Gangas of Kalinga who ruled in Āndhradesha. But these coins are discovered in great quantities in Karnataka and hence Krishna thinks that they might be the issues of the Gangas of Talkāḍ. He also surmises that this type of Ganga coin was very widely imitated by the later dynasties including Kalinga Gangas. Hence the Kalinga Ganga coins of this type must have had their prototypes in the similar coins of the Talkāḍ Gangas. Krishna takes the legend *Deva* as belonging to Rāchamalla Satyavākya I.[9]

Another similar coin has a letter *ha* in its obverse. He ascribes this coin to Prithvipati II on the ground that the king was known as Hastimalla also, and the legend could represent the first letter of his name.[10] Another similar coin with a letter *cha* or *ka* on the obverse has been ascribed to Kongavarma.[11]

The gold *haṇa* is similar to the *varaha* described above but has no legend. Its diameter is 0.25" and it weighs 5.6 grains.[12] The gold quarter *haṇa* is similar to the *haṇa* mentioned above. Its weight varies from 1.3 to 1.5 grains and has a diameter of 0.15".[13]

Of the copper coins, the following may be noted here:[14]

obv: A caparisoned tusker elephant moving to left with bell hanging down his side.

rev: A legend (not clear) between two lines.

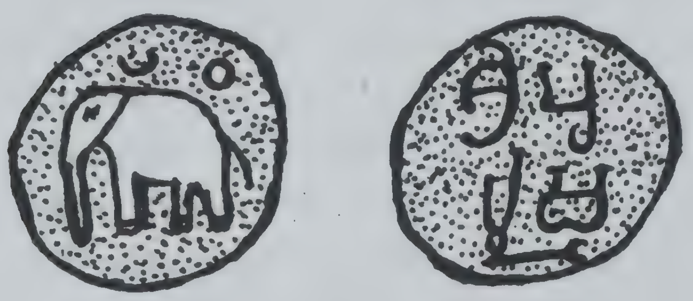
In another specimen of the same type, is seen a Tamil letter *ya* or *pu* and Krishna takes this as standing for Punnāḍu.[15] In another specimen, the elephant is plain and not caparisoned.[16]

Recently a copper coin of Śrīpurusha has been discovered. It is a circular coin; diameter 0.6"; weight 62 grains.

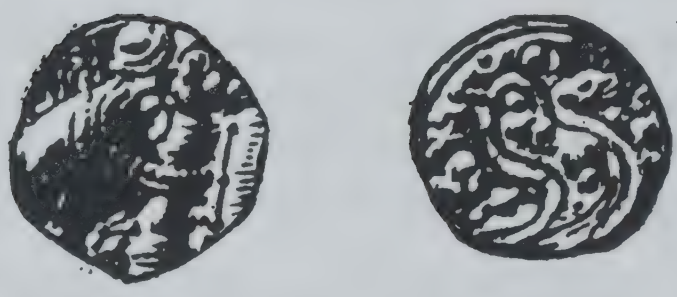
obv: Elephant to right; It is well ornamented as in the case of the gold coins.

rev: Two line old Kannaḍa legend and *ankuśa* below; legend

Śrī Pu
rusha


Coin of Śrīpurusha

Another uninscribed copper coin has been found. It is a circular coin, diameter 0.6"; weight 36 grains.


Ganga Gold coin

obv: Elephant to right; Sun and moon above.

rev: Some indistinct symbols; *ankuśa* below.

This coin has been ascribed to the Ganga dynasty only on the basis of the typology of the elephant as found in gold coins as also in the coins of Śrīpurusha.

Recently, R.Gopal has brought to light a copper coin.[17] Weight 3.4 gms; diameter 1.5 cm; thickness 2 mms.

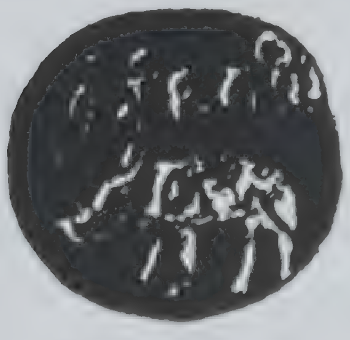
obv: Caparisoned elephant.

rev: Floral design

This is similar to the gold coin of the Gangas, in both obverse and reverse. From the typological point of view this can be attributed to the Gangas. The elephant is similar to the Bāṇa coin with the legend *Vairigajakēsari,* published by Mukunda Prabhu.[18]

It is curious that even the large scale excavation conducted at Talakāḍ, the capital of the Gangas has not yielded any Ganga coin so far. The excavation is in progress. However, two stone seals with linear carving of elephant have been found which may belong to the Ganga period.[19]

In this connection a seal of Nijagali becomes important.[20] It is circular and contains a boar at the bottom and the legend *Śrī Nijagali* in Kannaḍa characters of the ninth century. P.V.P. Sastry has identified this person as figuring in the Kaḍalūru grant of Ganga Mārasimha II, dated 962 A.D. He was the father-in- law of Ganga king Ereganga II, as he married Nijagali's daughter Jākāmbā. Perhaps Nijagali was a feudatory under the Gangas of Talkad. Actually he was a Chālukya cheif. Perhaps he issued such coins similar to this seal which might have been used for that purpose.



Seal of Nijagali

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14. *Ibid.,* p. 1.
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CHAPTER VIII

THE COINS OF THE CHALUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI

The Chalukyas who succeeded the Kadambas of Banavāsi occupy a prominent position in the political and cultural history of Karnataka. A new spirit of political expansion was inaugurated in the Deccan and its impact was felt even in North India. Hiuen-tsang who travelled in the Deccan during the rule of the Chalukys of Bādāmi has left testimonies to the greatness of the cultural development that was taking place.[1] Education and art received unprecedented patronage from the enlightened Chalukya rulers. Thus we see an allround prosperity during the period beginning from the sixth century to the middle of the eighth century in Karnataka. But we are disappointed when we take up the study of the coins of this dynasty, as the coins of this dynasty so far discovered are not many. It may be surmised that on account of the precious metal that was used in the coinage of the period, few coins of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi have survived.

The Chalukyas of Bādāmi had the boar *(Varāha)* on their royal emblem. This is seen in many seals of their copper plates. Hence it is generally believed that the early gold coins of South India and the Deccan which contained a boar on their obverse were issues of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi. In fact the tradition of boar-coins was inaugurated by the Chalukyas of Bādāmi. These gold coins became so popular in South India and the Deccan that *Varaha or Varāha* became a common terminology for gold coins of a particular type. It is very curious that the coins of Vijayanagara and other dynasties though not containing the picture of a boar on them, were still referred to as *Varahas.* This is a good testimony to the prosperous condition of the coinage of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi.

Though the gold coins of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi are referred to by Elliot[2] and other early writers, inscribed Chalukya coins were discovered very recently. The credit of bringing to light the first inscribed coin of Chalukya Vikramāditya goes to S. Ramayya.[3]

Before the discovery of the inscribed coins of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, a question that baffled the numismatists was whether the Chalukyas issued coins at all. At that juncture the historians tried to find solace by culling out epigraphic references to the use of coins during the Chalukyan period. Thus the early Chalukyan inscriptions contain useful data regarding the names of the coins and their relative value during the period. They mention the coins such as *gadyāṇa, dharaṇa, suvarṇa, paṇa, pala* and *vīsa.* It has to be noted that the word *Varāha* does not occur in the Chalukyan inscriptions.

Gadyāṇa was the most popular coin of the period. It was a gold coin. It was used not only on religious occasions but also in commercial transactions. An epigraph from Paṭṭadakal refers to the purchase of thirty *nivartanas* of land by paying thirty *gadyāṇas.*[4] Another inscription refers to the preparation of a temple pillar at a cost of fiftyone gold *gadyāṇas.*[5] An epigraph from the Lādkhān temple mentions payment of *gadyāṇas* made by Beṇṇamma Somayāji.[6] Another inscription from Aihoḷe refers to a gift of 1100 *gadyāṇas* for the performance of a twelve-day ritual.[7] All these references show the popularity of the gold coin *gadyāṇa.*

Suvarṇa as a gold coin is found mentioned in two inscriptions of the period.[8] This was a well known coin in North India during the period. Parhaps this was equal to a *gadyāṇa* and hence should have been used in place of the gold coin of the highest value.

Dharaṇa was another gold coin and is mentioned in an inscription from Aihoḷe.[9] It was not a popular coin in South India. However, the Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions also mention this coin. It was one fourth of a *gadyāṇa.*

Pon was another coin of the period. It is mentioned in the Kaṭṭebaṇḍe epigraph of Pulakēśi.[10] Here it is further described as a *'navila pon'* which means a peacock *pon.* Obviously it had a portrayal of a peacock on this coin. peacock is associated with Kārtikēya and the Chalukyas had the *praśasti* "obtained their series of fortunes through the protection of the god Kārtikēya".[11] Unfortunately a coin with a peacock on it has not been described so far.

Paṇa or *haṇa* is another coin mentioned in an inscription of Chalukya Vikramāditya II from Lakshmēśvar.[12] It was a gold coin.

Pala as a coin is mentioned in the above inscription.[13] In the later period it was equal to four *Karshas.* Its exact nature is not known. However, it is also taken as a weight by some. But in the present context it appears to be a coin and not a weight.

Vīsa is mentioned thrice in an inscription from Durga temple, Aihoḷe.[14] It refers to a tax on cartload as well as head load, to be paid in *vīsa.*

Rūpaka as a coin occurs not in any Chalukyan inscription but in an inscription of their feudatories, the Kaḷachuris.[15] Perhaps it was a silver coin. It also shows that some of the feudatories were allowed the previlege of issuing their own coins.

From the above details culled out from the Chalukyan epigraphs, the following relative values may be suggested.

Gadyāṇa = *Suvarṇa* = 60 grains

Dharaṇa = one fourth *gadyāṇa* = 15 grains

Gadyāṇa = 10 *paṇas*

1 *Paṇa* = 16 *vīsa*

We may now describe the coins so far discovered by numismatists.

In recent years attempts have been made to bring to light the coins of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi. In this connection the attempts by S.V. Padigar,[16] S.J. Mangalam[17] and Abels[18] deserve special mention. First of all we may refer to the coin of Pulakēśi I, who according to the Bādāmi cliff inscription built a fort at Bādāmi. It is quite likely that he issued a coin to commemorate this great event.

Pulakēśi I

This is a silver coin and Padigar has given good arguments to ascribe this coin to Pulakēśi I.[19] It is circular; diameter 1.9 cm; weight 4.15 gms.

obv: A lion to the left with foreleg raised and tail curled; a linear circle at the edge.

rev: A *śankha* at the centre with lamp posts on either side; at the top is a legend in Kannaḍa reading *Śrī Pṛithivi* within a linear circle at the edge.

The strong point in favour of assigning this coin to the above king is the presence of the legend *Śrī Pṛithivi* in Kannaḍa characters of circa sixth century. On this basis it can not be assigned to any other dynasty. Secondly the Chalukya king Pulakēśi I is known to have had the title *Śrī Pṛithivī Vallabha.* The last portion of this title is not seen in the above coin; perhaps it is out of the flan. The provenance of the coin is Bijapur, the heart of the Bādāmi Chalukya territory. Taking all these evidences into consideration, Padigar has rightly attributed this coin to Pulakēśi I.

While considering the above coin, the same scholar has re-examined some copper coins attributed to the Vishṇukuṇḍins and has come to the conclusion that they are Chalukya coins. Of the many coins which he has examined in this context, type 3 stands prominent and is considered here because it contains a legend which gives the correct clue to the issuer of the coin. The coin may be described first.

obv.: A bull to right; above is the legend *Śrī Raṇavikrama* in characters of sixth century.

rev.: A vase flanked by lamp stands; all in a linear circle.

In the above coin, the discoverer of the coin has stated that there is no king among the Vishṇukuṇḍins who has *Raṇavikrama* either as a name or as a title. But among the Bādāmi Chalukyas, among others Pulakēśi I had this title. Hence it is logical to ascribe this coin to the Bādāmi Chalukyas in general and to Pulakēśi I in particular because of the early palaeography of the legend. In the case of both the coins, the absence of boar and the presence of lion and bull have to be explained.[20] Students of numismatics are quite familiar with many instances of dynasties choosing animals other than those who have dynastic connection. Or it may be possible that these are the pre-Varāha coins of the Chalukyas. However, the most important consideration is the legend and the palaeography. Hence there is no difficulty in accepting the above coins as belonging to Pulakēśi I.

Kīrtivarma I

Recently a potin coin has been ascribed to Kīrtivarma I by Abels.[21] It is a circular coin; diameter 1.8 cm; weight 4 gms.

obv: Bull facing right

rev: Vase in the centre with lamp stands; legend *Śrī Kṛitarāja.*

The discoverer of this coin has argued that this is neither a Pallava coin nor a Vishṇukuṇḍin coin. The legend *Kṛitarāja* has been taken as the same as *Kīrtirāja* and this may be equated with Kīrtivarma. On this basis, he ascribes this coin to Kīrtivarma I of the early Chalukya dynasty. Unless the legend and its palaeography are further examined, this assumption has to remain tentative.

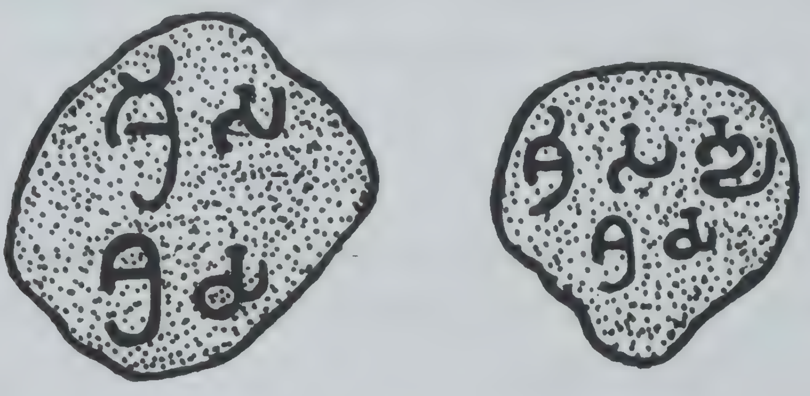
Pulakēśi II

The credit for discovering the coin of the greatest ruler of this dynasty goes to Mangalam.[22] In a recent paper he has brought to light some copper coins found while digging at the island of Elephanta near Mumbai. They are copper coins and are rectangular in shape measuring 1.1 x 0.9 cm. Three different weights have been noticed-0.5 gm, 0.71 gm and 1.3. gm. They may represent three different denominations.

obv: Kannaḍa legend in two lines
Śri Satyā
śraya

rev: Within a border of dots a recumbent bull; other signs are not clear.

The shape of the coins is important. One of the two looks circular whereas the other one is more in the form of a rectangle with roundish edges. Only a good specimen can give the correct shape.



Coin of Satyāśraya

The legend *Satyāśrya* is very important. It was assumed as a title by Pulakēśi I, Mangaḷēśa and Pulakēśi II. Hence any one of these three could be considered as the issuer of these copper coins. At this stage we may have to consider the provenance of these coins to clinch this issue. Mangalam has stated that these coins were discovered while digging at the island of Elephanta. Hence their provenance is Elephanta. This place was known as Puri or Ghārāpuri in the sixth-seventh century A.D. While mentioning the exploits of Pulakēśi II, the Aihoḷe inscription states that Pulakēśi II defeated the Mauryas of Konkaṇa and occupied Puri which was a fortune of western sea from where hundreds of ships could sail. This exploit of Pulakēśi II brought to his fold Konkaṇa. Scholars like Mangalam[23] and Thosar[24] have shown conclusively that this island of Puri was none other than the present day Elephanta in Maharashtra. Thus for the first time Pulakēśi II set his foot on this island. Hence Satyāśraya who conquered this island cannot be any other than Pulakēśi II. By this important circumstantial evidence Pulakēśi I and Mangaḷēśa are automatically eliminated leaving Pulakēśi II as the issuer of these coins. The palaeography of the legend also suits the date of Pulakēśi II. As already explained the presence of bull should not be a problem as against the strong evidence of the legend. It has also been suggested that the area round about Konkaṇ, people were familiar with Kaḷachuri coins which had bull on them. Hence Pulakēśi II adopted this animal on this coin but asserted his authority by his famous and popular title *Satyāśraya.*

Vikramāditya I

The coin in question belongs to Vikramāditya I (655-681 A.D) of the Chalukya dynasty. It is a pure gold coin with a weight of 117 grains. Its diameter is 0.76". On both sides of the coin are seen a number of devices fixed by a die. The obverse of this coin contains a big boar facing right. It is protuberant and crude. In front of the boar near the edge is a lamp. Above the boar are symbols of the sun and the moon, and between them is a floral design. Below the boar is the legend *Śrī Vikrama.* There is also another inscription above the boar which is highly indistinct.

The reverse of the coin shows a man standing facing left. His right arm is flexed and is on his right hip. There is a serpent with a raised hood in front. On one edge of the coin is seen a small boar facing left. On the left edge of the coin is seen the legend *Vikrama.* The same legend can be seen above the head of the serpent and also on the right edge of the coin. Thus the obverse contains three inscriptions in bigger and smaller types.

The discoverer of the coin, S. Ramayya, has argued at length to show that this coin was issued by none other than Vikramāditya I of the Bādāmi line of the Chalukyas.[25] The palaeography of the inscription makes it clear that this coin could not have been an issue of Kalyāṇa Chalukya ruler Vikramāditya VI who ruled in the twelfth century A.D. The letters of the legends on this coin are unmistakably in early Kannaḍa of the seventh century A.D. This coin differs from the known coins of the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇa in typology also. There were two kings in the Bādāmi line of the Chalukyas having the same name Vikramāditya. The first king ruled from 655-681 A.D. and the second king ruled from 733-745 A.D. Vikramāditya I had a longer reign and was a greater conqueror. It was he who freed his kingdom from the Pallavas immediately after coming to the throne. The rule of Vikramāditya II was of a shorter duration and uneventful. Hence we may assume that this gold coin was issued by Vikramāditya I.

Among the symbols on this coin, the interesting one is the standing figure on the reverse. Though it is difficult to identify this figure, it has been suggested that it may represent the king himself or the God Kārtikēya. From the faint traces of a peacock this figure could be better identified as Kārtikēya.

We have already seen that this gold coin weighs 117 grains. Perhaps it was originally 120 grains. The usual standard of southern coins is 55-60 grains while the Guptas had 120 grains. From this it appears that Chalukya Vikramāditya I imitated the Gupta gold coin standard in his issues. However, it has to be noted that this standard did not last long and the standard of 60 grains was soon restored.

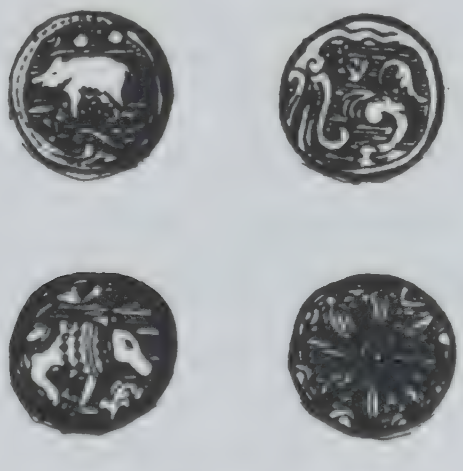
In addition to the gold coin described above, Ramayya also discovered three more electrum coins (an alloy of gold and silver) of Chalukyas Vikramāditya I.[26] They are round coins with a diameter of 0.76". They weigh 153 grains. The coins contained 30% gold and 70% silver.

These coins are almost similar to those we have referred to above. But there are some minor variations which may be noted here. The boar on the obverse of the coin though crude is more distinct with thick legs and a heavy tail. But the most important difference is the presence of the word *rāja* in addition to *Śrī Vikrama.* So the legend on the obverse on one of these coins reads *Śrī Vikramarāja* in Kannaḍa characters of the seventh century A.D. On the reverse in addition to the figure of a person, there is what looks like a peacock feather. The reverse also contains legend in Kannaḍa characters. First legend reads *Śrī Vikrama* whereas the second legend can be clearly read as *Mahārāja.* The word *Mahārāja* is not seen on the gold coin referred to earlier. From the palaeography of the inscription and the typological similarity to gold coin of Vikramāditya I, these electrum coins also can be ascribed to the same king.[27]

M.H. Krishna has illustrated two doubtful coins of the *Varāha* type and ascribed one of them to Pulakēśi I (540-566 A.D.)[28] This coin is a double die struck coin with a weight of 57.2 grains and a diameter of 0.55". It is of inferior metal. On the obverse of the coin is a caparisoned boar to the right with the sun and the moon and pellet above. The reverse contains a large eight-petalled lotus.[29] As the reverse contains a lotus which was predominently a Kadamba symbol, Krishna thinks that this coin might have been issued by Pulakēśi I to commemorate Kīrtivarma's victories over the Kadambas of Banavāsi.

Another coin of 57.2 grains is cup shaped and roundish. On the obverse is seen a boar with a lotus above and five punch marks such as *Śrī* in Kannaḍa, eight-petalled lotus, a conch and a bow. Krishna thinks that this coin was an issue of the early Yādavas who were the subordinates of the Chalukyas. This attribution is highly doubtful. In all probability, this coin may belong to the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇa.

Elliot has illustrated some coins and has ascribed them to the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, purely on typological grounds.[30] In one of them of 66 grains, is seen an eight-rayed figure, *chakra* or sun on the obverse while the reverse is plain.[31] Another coin contains on the



Coins showing Varāha

obverse a boar and punches of conch, lotus, bow.[32] Still another coin shows a well represented boar on the obverse and floral designs on the revese.[33] The remaining two coins are very elegant. They contain on the obverse a caparisoned boar and the sun and moon above. The reverse contains a *chakra* with eight spokes and is well ornamented.[34]

Except the coins of some kings which contain legends, all others have been attributed to the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, mainly because they contain the boar as the most dominant symbol on them. In the present state of our knowledge of numismatics, they can be accepted as the coins of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi.

Thus our knowledge of the coinage of the Bādāmi Chalukyas has improved considerably by the study of epigraphs which mention the use of a large number of coins and also by the discovery of coins of Pulakēśi I, Pulakēśi II, Kīrtivarma I and Vikramāditya I. Still many rulers are not represented by their coins. The re-study of some of the earlier discovered coins as well as the identification of new coins of this dynasty in the areas of northern Karnataka may be taken up. A fresh study of some of the coins of the Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Museum at Hyderabad may also yield more coins of this dynasty.

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3. *JNSI.,* Vol. 26, p. 244-46 and 27, p. 46-52.
4. Annigeri, A.M.: *Paṭṭadakallina Dēvālayagaḷu,* p. 86.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Aihoḷe,* p. 151.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *IA,* VII, p. 162 and VIII, p. 44.

9. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 287.
10. *QJMS*, LXXXII, p. 84.
11. K.V. Ramesh, *op.cit.*, p. 34.
12. *IA*, VII, p. 104.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Aihoḷe*, p. 149.
15. *EI*, XXV, p. 225.
16. *Vishvambhara*, (Ed.) A.M Shastri, p. 208-14.
17. *SSIC*, III, p. 89-96.
18. *JNSI*, Vol. 50, p. 37-38.
19. *Vishvambhara*, p. 208-14.
20. For a detailed discussion on this problem, see the above research article by Padigar "A unique Silver coin of the Chalukyas of Vātāpi" (pp. 208-14).
21. *JNSI*, Vol. 50, p. 37-38.
22. *SSIC*, III, p. 89-96.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, XVII, p. 21.
25. *JNSI*, Vol. 26, p. 244.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
27. *Ibid.*, XXVII, p. 46.
28. *MAR.*, 1933, p. 98.
29. Elliot takes this as a *chakra; Coins of Southern India*, Plate I, Nos. 22, 23.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*, No. 9.
32. *Ibid.*, No. 19.
33. *Ibid.*, No. 21.
34. *Ibid.*, Nos. 22 and 23. These are the same as illustrated by Krishna.

CHAPTER IX

RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA COINS

The Rāshṭrakūṭas occupy a prominent place in the galaxy of strong and paramount powers that ruled not only in Karnataka but in ancient India itself. They made bold incursions into North India and made their presence felt even in far away lands. Industry, commerce and trade were in a flourishing state during the period of their rule. Economically the period of the Rāshṭrakūṭas enjoyed prosperity. From these factors one would expect a large number of gold and silver coins being issued by the mighty Rāshṭrakūṭa monarches. But one would be thoroughly disappointed because not even a single coin which can definitely be said to have been issued by the Rāshṭrakūṭas has come to light. Hence, our knowledge of the Rāshṭrakūṭa coins rests merely on epigraphical references to them and conjectural attributions of some rare coins.

The inscriptions of the Rāshṭrakūṭas mention *Dramma, Survarṇa, Gadynāṇa, Kaḷanju, Kāsu, Manjaḍi* and *Akkam* as the coins that were current in the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire. Beyond mentioning them by names, the epigraphs do not mention any details about them. The *Drammas* were of two types namely gold and silver. One Rāshṭrakūṭa inscription distinguishes gold *Dramma* from ordinary *Dramma.* Probably, the latter was a silver coin. *Dramma* is a Sanskritised form of the Greek word *Drachme.* Probably the *Drammas* of this period were similar in weight as those of the Indo-Greek period. Thus they may have weighed about 65 grains.

Gadyāṇa was a popular coin in Karnataka and it was in circulation during the Rāshṭrakūṭa period also. Though the exact weight of this gold coin is not known Altekar surmises that it must have weighed about 96 grains. *Kaḷanju* was also a coin mentioned in the Rāshṭrakūṭa records. One inscription mentions that one *Gadyāṇa* was equal to two *Kaḷanjus.* Hence *Kaḷanju* must have weighed about

48 grains. *Kāsu* was another gold coin which was in circulation during the period. From an inscription we come to know that 20 *Kāsus* were equal to 7 *Kaḷanjus.* Hence *Kāsu* must have weighed 15 grains. *Manjaḍi* was another coin which was one-twentieth of a *Kaḷanju.* Hence the coin *Manjaḍi* must have weighed two and a half grains. *Akkam* was another coin and it was one-twelfth of a *Kāsu.* So the weight of *Akkam* was about one and a half grains.

In addition to these coins mentioned in inscriptions some actual specimens have been discovered and they may be examined.

Krishna I

A large number of silver coins were discovered in Nasik and other areas in Maharashtra and they have been ascribed to Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishna I. These coins contain the bust of a king and this looks almost very similar to those of the Kshatrapas. On the reverse was noticed a circular legend *Parama Māhēśvara mātāpitṛ pādānudhyāta Śrī Krishṇarājasya.* Because of the word Krishṇarāja, these coins were attributed to Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇa I. But Rapson who restudied them opined that these coins are definitely imitations of the Gupta coinage of the area and they could not be attributed to Krishṇa I. Hence from the fabric and type of the coins and also on grounds of palaeography he thought that they should belong to the Kaḷachuri dynasty. Hence the coin in question is now accepted by all numismatists as belonging to Kaḷachuri Krishṇarāja who flourished in the second half of the sixth century A.D.[1]

Karkka II

While digging pits for planting trees in a village very near Malkhed, the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, were discovered four copper coins. These coins weighed 140 grains and measured 0.8" in diameter. Dinakar Rao who studied them ascribed these coins to Rāshṭrakūṭa Karkka II on the basis of the inscription which he found on the obverse and reverse of the coin.[2] According to him the obverse contained the legend in three lines in the Nāgari script. But the language used was Kannaḍa:

obv: *Śrīmadevara*
Kākarāya
(dhi)ya ru.

rev: *Idava vi*
Jaya Karavu
....

He translated the legend as "This is the auspicious coin of king Kākarāya, the wise and the learned". As the find spot of these coins was very near Malkhed, the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, he was inclined to attribute these coins to the Rāshṭrakūṭa king. Further he also mentioned the fact that the language of the legend was Kannaḍa and the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings were of Kannaḍa origin. Taking into consideration the palaeography of the legend he concluded that these coins belonged to Rāshṭrakūṭa Karkka II (972- 973 A.D.).

But Dr.D.C. Sircar objected to this attribution.[3] He did not agree with the reading of the legend as read by Dinkar Rao. Sircar argued that the Nāgari script used in the legend is southern variety of Nāgari of about 12th century A.D. and it is impossible to take it back to the 10th century A.D. Though he was not sure of the reading, he was inclined to take the legend as follows:

obv: *Śrīmad Vikra*
ma Kākatīya
Pratāparu

rev: *dra dēva Vi*
jaya Vatsara
123.....

By this reading he argued that the coins in question belonged to Kākatīya Pratāparudradēva, either I or II. Further, he also stated that similar copper coins of the same dimension and weight with similar legend were already known. Hence, he was inclined to put this coin also in the same category. Further he argued that Karkka II ruled only for a year before he was overthrown by Chālukya king Taila II. When famous Rāshṭrakūṭa rulers like Gōvinda, Amōghavarsha, Dhruva, Indra etc., have not issued coins, it is difficult to believe that a weak and insignificant ruler like Karkka II issued coins in his name. Thus Sircar dismissed the arguments of Dinakar Rao and showed that these coins were not of Rāshṭrakūṭa Karkka II. This opinion of Sircar seems more plausible. Hence, we have to state that coins undisputably belonging to Rāshṭrakūṭas have so far not been discovered.

M.H. Krishna ascribed some gold coins as belonging to the Rāshṭrakūṭas, though he did not venture to suggest any particular king of the dynasty.[4] These gold coins weighed about 57.9 grains. They contained nine punches on the obverse. The punches showed maned lions with the letter *Śrī* twice and also the legend *Para* in Kannaḍa characters followed by an ornamental goad. In other coins of the same type instead of the legend *Para* was seen Kannaḍa legend *Māna.* The reverse of these coins was blank. Krishna argued that the legend *Para* may stand for *Paramēśvara,* a title assumed by the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Similarly *Māna* may indicated Mānyakheṭa, the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital. It may even indicate their earlier capital *Māna,* which according to Fleet was Mānapur in Central India. "The lion crest rises a problem. But it would appear that the early Rāshṭrakūṭas of *Māna* had the lion crest, which perhaps appeared on their imperial coins and was adopted by the Western Chālukyas. These reasons make it possible that the coins described above are late Rāshṭrakūṭa or early Kalyāṇi Chālukya imitations of the Rāshṭrakūṭa coins."[5]

The above opinion of Krishṇa contains too many conjectures and it is difficult to accept them. However, they may be accepted as tentative till it is proved or disproved.

In the famous Koḍūr hoard are certain coins which Krishṇa Saṣtry had tentatively suggested as those of Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda IV.[6] These coins which he assigned to group VI and VII contain Nāgari legend *Gajga, Gajaga, Gaje* or *Gaji.* These are round and thin gold coins. They contain a hooked spear with sun and moon with three stars. The reverse has the legend in Nāgari conventionalised *Śrī* is also seen. The interplaces are filled with pellets, dots, rows of dots and lions. So far no scholar has either confirmed or doubted the attribution of these coins to the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

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CHAPTER X

COINS OF THE CHĀLUKYAS AND KALACHURIS OF KALYĀṆA

The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa dominated the political and cultural scene of Karnataka for over two centuries. Starting their career as the subordinates of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, they achieved significant military success with the help of a great army which was famous in contemporary times. This dynasty also had the good fortune of having great rulers like Taila II, Satyāśraya, Jayasimha and Vikramāditya VI. These eminent rulers enhanced the prestige of their family both in North and South India. The political stability of the Chālukyan times is reflected in cultural activities. Benevolent administration, patronage to education, development of Kannaḍa and Sanskrit literature and construction of the fine temples to various gods and goddesses mark the period. Hundreds of inscriptions of the various rulers of this dynasty have been discovered and from them we get a glimpse into the prosperity of the times.

The numismatic history of the dynasty, however, is dim. The coins of the dynasty so far discovered are not many and they do not give us a good picture of the coinage of the times. Vikramāditya VI, the greatest ruler of the dynasty, is not known to us through his coins. This is the case with many other kings as well. It is quite likely that the majority of the gold coins of the period might have been melted for the purpose of getting the gold in them.

From the large number of references to coins, mints, denominations of coins, the names of the various coins in the contemporary inscriptions, it becomes more than clear that the period was very rich from the numismatic point of view. Unfortunately the inscriptions supply stray information, without giving details about the coinage of the times. Thus we are handicapped even in this regard.

Among the coins mentioned in the inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, the following may be noted. *Dramma,*[1] *Gadyāṇa,*[2] *Paṇa,*[3] *Honnu,*[4] *Hāga,*[5] *Kāgini,*[6] *Vīsa,*[7] *Guḷike*[8] and *Bēḷe*[9] are some of the coins frequently mentioned in the contemporary inscriptions.

It becomes clear from the epigraphic references that there were many mints working in the Chālukyan period. Considering the number of references to it, the mint at Lokkiguṇḍi seems to have been prosperous during the period. The existence of another mint at Sūḍi is evidenced by an inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla.[10] The inscription mentions gifts made by Uttavōja, the goldsmith and the mint-master of Tribhuvanamalla, to god *Kammaṭēśvara* at Sūḍi. It also becomes clear from the details given in the record that gold coins were minted under the orders of Uttavōja who was the royal mint-master. He had the privilege of owning the die *(Kammaṭada āṇi)* containing the royal seal *(unḍige)* for striking the coins. Another inscription at Lakkuṇḍi of the time of Sōmēśvara IV mentions such terms as *acchu, āṇi, acchina kāṇi* and *acchina moḷe,* which are connected with the minting of coins.[11] The same inscription mentions the word *beḷḷiyagammaṭa,* which shows that silver coins were also minted in addition to gold coins.[12] In some cases the coins are mentioned along with the name or the initial letter of the place of the mint. For example *Lokkiguṇḍi gadyāṇa* or *Lokki gadyāṇa* are obviously *gadyāṇas* minted in the mint at Lokkiguṇḍi. It is not known whether this practice had any special significance during the period.

Though coins of many denominations and types are mentioned in the inscriptions of the period, *Gadyāṇa* seems to have been the most popular coin. It was written in various forms and abbreviated as *gadya* and *ga.* Many types of *gadyāṇas* are mentioned in the inscriptions and it is difficult to understand their precise nature. We have already referred to *Lokki gadyāṇas* which were obviously *gadyāṇas* minted at Lokkiguṇḍi mint. Koṇḍuguḷi inscription of Bhūlōkamalla dated 1132 A.D., mentions *Varttaka Lokkigadyāṇa, Kaṭaka Priya gadyāṇa* and *Kaṭaka gadyāṇa.*[13] Dr. Ramesh who has edited this inscription surmises that *Varttaka Lokkigadyāṇas* were the coins minted by merchant guilds of Lokkiguṇḍi.[14] He also thinks that the *gadyāṇas* associated with the word *Kaṭaka* were minted in the capital city *(Kaṭaka)* and the *Priyagadyāṇa* was so called because of the higher gold content in it. Kurhaṭṭi inscription of Jagadēkamalla II, dated 1142 A.D., mentions *Lokkiyacchina gadyāṇa.*[15] Another inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla from Hubli mentions *Lokki Śrāheya gadyāṇa,* the exact nature of which is not known.[16] An inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalladēva dated 1098 A.D., from Kuḍitini in Bellary District furnishes some interesting information in this regard.[17] It mentions two types of *pon* namely *Navilacchina pon* and *Lokki pon.* Probably the former contained the punch of a peacock as different from the latter which was minted at Lokkiguṇḍi mint.[18] The inscription in question refers to an agreement according to which Savimōja who wanted to convert *Lokki pons* into *peacock pons* was to give peacock coins of the same weight[19] and in consideration of the profit should pay twelve *gadyāṇas* to the temple of Svāmidēva.

Though it is difficult to know precisely the relative value of all the different coins mentioned in the inscriptions, some idea about them can be had from some inscriptions. An inscription from Niḍugundi mentions the relationship between a *gadyāṇa* and a *paṇa.*[20] This inscription gives a list of donations in gold and specifies the total as six *gadyāṇas.* The details mentioned are five *gadyāṇas,* and ten *paṇas.* The total of these two being six *gadyāṇas,* it becomes clear that one *gadyāṇa* consisted of ten *paṇas.* From references in other records of the period the following table may be deduced:

1 *gadyāṇa* - 10 *paṇas*

1 *paṇa* - 4 *hāga*

1 *paṇa* - 4 *kāgini*

1 *hāga* - 4 or 5 *vīsas*

1 *hāga* - 2 *bēḷe*

Now, let us examine the specimens of coins discovered from various parts of the country. Though we get number of references to coins and transactions involving various coins in inscriptions of the period, we are disappointed by the small number of coins and coin types of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa so far discovered and reported. Even in the study of these coins we are handicapped because these coins generally contain not the names but the titles of the rulers, which were common to more than one king. Thus the coins which contain the legend *Jagadēkamalla* may belong to any of the three Chālukyan rulers who had the title Jagadēkamalla.

So far, gold and silver coins of the Chālukyas have been found, though there are epigraphic and literary references to copper coins also. The Chālukya coins are generally round and punched with various symbols on one side of the coin only. Thus their reverses are blank. Usually they contain Kannaḍa legend of the title of the king and *Śrī* in Kannaḍa characters, sun and moon, temple, gōpura, elephant, lion and boar. Because of the large number of punches on thin sheets of metal, they have assumed the cup-shape. Kalyāṇa Chālukya coins have been reported from Karnataka, Andhra, Tamilanad and Maharashtra. One of the richest collections of the Kalyāṇa Chālukya coins is from the Koḍūr treasure trove.[21] Koḍūr is a small village in the Nellore District of Andhra Pradesh. Here was discovered, in 1913, by some villagers copper and earthen pots containing gold coins numbering to 15, 462.[22] This forms the basis of the study of the coins of the Kalyāṇa Chālukyas.

Coins of Jayasimha II

There were three persons having the name Jayasimha in the Kalyāṇa Chālukya dynasty. Of them Jayasimha II, also called Jagadēkamalla I was the most famous. Hence it is presumed that he issued certain gold and silver coins.

Type A : Hultzsch describes six specimens of this type. They weigh about 57½ - 59 grains each.[23] Each coin contains nine punches of which five represent a lion two punches represent two *Śrī* in Kannaḍa characters, the eighth punch has the word *Jaya* and the ninth punch contains *dēva* in Kannaḍa characters. This Jayadēva has been taken as Jayasimha and hence this coin is ascribed to Jayasimha II.

Type B: M. Rama Rao has described some coins which are in the coin cabinets of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad.[24] These coins either of gold or of silver measure 0.63" to 0.83" in diameter and their weight ranges from 54 to 60.58 grains. They are punched coins having obverse only. They contain four punches. But instead of the lion as in the type A, these coins contain the punch or punches of Varāha or boar. They also have one or two *Śrī* punches and the legend *Jaya* punched in Kannaḍa characters. From the fabric, weight, size and even the legend they closely resemble the coins of Jayasimha. Hence there is no doubt that they are the issues of Jayasimha II of the Kalyāṇa Chālukya dynasty. These coins are found from various places in Medak, Nalgonda Districts of Andhra Pradesh, Gulbarga and Bidar Districts of Karnataka.

Type C: Rama Rao has also published a coin which is almost similar to the coins described above.[25] But the coin in question contains a bull in seven punches, the word *Jaya* in another punch, and the word *dēva* in the last punch. This weighs 59.6 grains and measures 0.80" in diameter. This coin has been found in Gulbarga District of Karnataka. But for the symbol of bull, the coin is similar to other Chālukyan coins. Hence, this may also be ascribed to Jayasimha II.

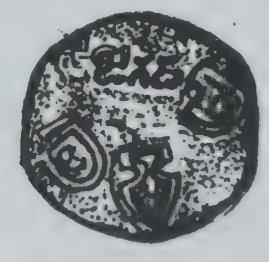
Type D: In the above collection are two more specimens which are similar in weight, size and fabric to the coins described above.[26] Instead of the boar or the lion, the coins in question contain an elephant. The elephant running right with trunk hanging in central incuse and in four incuses in the corners, *Śrī* in one incuse and *Jaya* in two incuses, the coins can be ascribed to Jayasimha II.

Whether Jayasimha issued coins with four different symbols such as lion, bull, boar and elephant has to be considered. There does not seem to be any set pattern for the coins of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Though the Bādāmi Chalukyas had boar as their symbol, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa had lion on their coins. What is important in their coinage is the number of punches and the Kannaḍa letter *Śrī* and the Kannaḍa legend. Further we have already referred to an inscription which shows that some Chālukya coins contained peacock as their symbol. Thus there does not seem to be any improbability in Jayasimha issuing these coins with various symbols.

Type E: M.H. Krishna, has published a coin of 0.75" diameter and 57.8 grains in weight.[27] It contained five punches of lion obliterated by four superior punch marks with one and two as *Śrī,* the third mark being large spear head with dots below and the fourth mark containing the Kannaḍa legend *Yaja.* This legend has been taken as a mistake for *Jaya* and hence this coin can be attributed to Jayasimha.

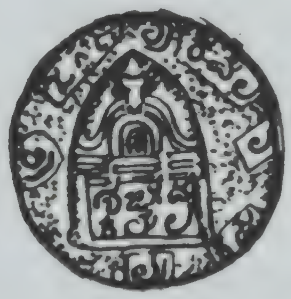
Coins of Jagadēkamalla

Type A: The Koḍūr treasure contained 62 gold coins of this type.[28] They are round with diameter ranging from 0.6" to 0.8". Their weight also ranges from about 67 to 69 grains. These coins contain four punch marks namely the legend *Jaga, Jagadē* or *Jagadēka* for *Jagadēkamalla* in old Kannaḍa characters. Opposite to it at the extremity of the coin is a symbol of a miniature temple. In between these two are two punches containing the conventional *Śrī* in Kannaḍa characters. Within the temple are seen a tree, dots, a crescent etc. On the reverse side which is generally plain are seen, occasionally a Nāga, a chauri, swastika, a conch, elephant etc. The legend *Jagadēka* is generally found either at the top or at the bottom of the coin. A similar coin has been noticed by Elliot also,[29] but he has not ascribed it to any particular dynasty.



Coin of Jagadēkamalla

Type B: Vincent Smith[30] describes some coins of this type which are thin concave cup shaped gold pieces ranging in diameter from 1.03" to 1.1.". They vary in weight from 67.3 to 68 grains. These coins contain a big temple in the centre with Kannaḍa legend *Jagadēkamalla* on the basement of it. On the margin are found *Śrī* punched three times and opposite to them are the punches of the legend *Jagadēkamalla,* punched four times. Thus this coin contains the word *Jagadēkamalla* punched five times in the whole coin. From this point of view, this can be called a unique issue of Jagadēkamalla. There are some minor variations in the punching of the legend or the other symbols on some coins. Some coins contain *Śrī Jagadēkamalla* while others have simply *Jagadēkamalla* at the base of the temple or pagoḍa.[31] In some others on either side of the *Śrī* at the top are two punches *Jagadē* on one side and lotus on the other. The same pattern is repeated below also.



Coin of Jagadēkamalla

Type C: In the Koḍūr treasure trove is a single coin which is slightly different from those described above.[32] It is roughly round with a diameter of 0.6". At both ends of the ventrical diameter are found the legend *Jagadē* in old Kannaḍa characters. At the other extremities are the conventional letter *Śrī.* The central punch contains a human figure sitting with left arm bent at the elbow and placed on the hip. At the top is a crown. The interspaces are filled with dots and pellets. Though Krishna Sastry did not assign this coin to any dynasty, there is no doubt that this coin belongs to Jagadēkamalla on the similarity of the legend and also the conventional *Śrī.* The fabric and the size also are similar to those of the known Jagadēkamalla's coins.

Type D: M. Rama Rao, has described a coin from the Museum of the Andhra Pradesh Government, Hyderabad.[33] This gold coin measures 0.72" in diameter and weighs 58.27 grains. It has been discovered at Matnoor in Adilabad District of Andhra Pradesh. It contains a symbol like Linga on Vēdi in one punch and the legend *Śrī Jagadēka.* The clear reading of the legend on the coin makes it possible to ascribe this coin to Jagadēkamalla.

Type E: Rama Rao has also noticed two more coins from the cabinets of the same Museum.[34] They are about 0.61" to 0.64" in diameter and weigh 54 grains. The central punch contains a boar facing right with crescent above, *Śrī* in two punches, lotus in two punches and the legend *Jaga* in one punch. We have already seen that Jayasimha also issued coins with a boar and hence this coin may be taken as an issue of Chālukya Jagadēkamalla.

Now, the problem is which Jagadēkamalla of the Chālukya family issued these coins mentioned above. There were at least three persons in the Kalyāṇa Chālukya family who had the name or the title Jagadēkamalla. They were Jayasimha II who had the title Jagadēkamalla I (1015-44 A.D.), Jagadēkamalla II (1139-49 A.D.) and Jagadēkamalla III (perhaps the son of Taila III). Of these three, the first two were powerful and ruled over the wide Chālukya empire. The third Jagadēkamalla was a governor somewhere and he was not powerful. Hence, we can easily eliminate Jagadēkamalla III as the author of these coins. We have already referred to the coins of Jayasimha also entitled Jagadēkamalla. Palaeography alone comes to our help in deciding the authorship of these coins. The palaeography of the legends on the coins of Jagadēkamalla very clearly point to highly advanced stage of Kannaḍa script. The letter *Ja, dē* and *ma* are worth considering from this point of view. They are so highly evolved that it becomes almost impossible to accept them as the forms of letters of 11th century in which Jagadēkamalla lived. These forms can be ascribed to the twelfth century. Hence the coins in question should be ascribed to Jagadēkamalla II of the 12th century and not to Jagadēkamalla I who lived atleast a century earlier. However, most of the scholars have attributed these coins to Jagadēkamalla I (Jayasimha II) mostly on the ground that this ruler was more important and more powerful.[35] This argument cannot be considered convincing. Palaeography is definitely a better criterion to decide the period to which the coins belonged and hence these coins have been assigned to Jagadēkamalla II. Our argument is supported by the famous epigraphist Krishna Sastri, who wrote that "It is not unlikely that our coins belong to Western Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla II".[36]

Coins of Trailōkyamalla Sōmēśvara I

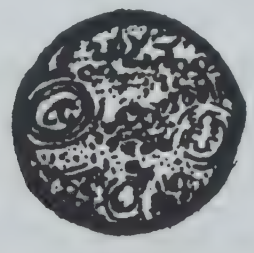
Gold coins of this ruler though rare, have been reported by Hultzsch[37] and M.H. Krishna.[38] Hultzsch examined three specimens which are about an inch in diameter and weigh 58 grains. Each of these coins contains nine punches of which five represent a lion, two punches contain *Śrī*, one punch of *Trelo* and other representing *malla*. On the basis of the legend *Trelomalla* which should have been *Trailokyamalla*, and the similarity of these coins with the already known Chālukya coins, the present coins are ascribed to Sōmēśvara I.

Krishna attributed another type of coin containing spear head and Nāgari legend without lion as belonging to Trailōkyamalla Sōmēśvara and calls it type B.[39] Curiously the Nāgari legend on this coin reads *Śrī Jagadēva* and not *Trailōkyamalla*. He surmises that Sōmēśvara was called Jagadēva in northern provinces of the empire. This is not supported by known facts. Further all the known coins of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa contain Kannaḍa legends and not legends in Nāgari. Hence the attribution of Krishna is highly conjectural and cannot be accepted.

Coins of Bhuvanaikamalla Sōmēśvara II

The Koḍūr treasure trove contains 90 coins in which the legend *bhuvana* in Kannaḍa characters is seen.[40] The legend *Bhuvana* may be taken as an abbreviation for *Bhuvanaikamalla*. Hence these coins have been attributed to Sōmēśvara II who had the title

Bhuvanaikamalla. These gold coins are round with a diameter ranging from 0.6" to 0.65". In fabric and weight they are similar to coins of Jayasimha II. These coins contain nine punches. In the centre is seen a lion around which are four lotuses. There are two punches at the sides representing two *Śrī.* Sun and moon are also present on the coin. On the top of the coin near the extremity is the Kannaḍa legend *Bhuvana.* There are many symbols most of which are indistinct and their meaning is not clear.



Coin of Bhuvanaikamalla

M.H. Krishna described a coin with an elephant as the central punch and having the legend *Bavana.*[41] This may be taken as a different type of Bhuvanaikamalla's coin.

Coin of Vikramāditya VI

No coin of Vikramāditya VI with his name on the coin has been found so far. However, P.V.P. Sastry has drawn our attention to some gold coins which can be ascribed to this ruler.[42] These coins in question have been found in and around Hanumakoṇḍa. They contain on the obverse Varāha and the legend *Chālukya Rāma* in eleventh century Kannaḍa characters. It is known from inscriptions that Vikramāditya VI had the title *Chālukya Rāma* and on the basis of this, these gold coins can reasonably be attributed to him.

Further, S.J. Mangalam has noticed some gold coins from Belgaum in Karnataka which have a bold peacock *(mayūra)* on the obverse and the reverse is blank.[43] An inscription of Vikramāditya VI from Kōṭyadona dated 1098 A.D., refers to *mayūra gadyāṇas* as gifts by the above king. Obviously these *gadyāṇas* contained a *mayūra* or peacock on them and hence they are referred to by that name. In that case, in all probability these gold coins containing *mayūra* on them should be attributed to Vikramāditya VI.

M.D. Sampath has put forward weighty arguments to show that the so called *gajapati pagoḍas* were the issues of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI.[44] He cites the opinion of Kalhaṇa who in his *Rājatarangiṇi* has stated that the ruler Harsha of Kashmir (1089 A.D.) was greatly impressed by the coinage of Karnāṭa and issued similar coins. Obviously he was referring to the gold coins of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. Thus Kalhaṇa also gives evidence for the beautiful gold coins of Vikramāditya VI.

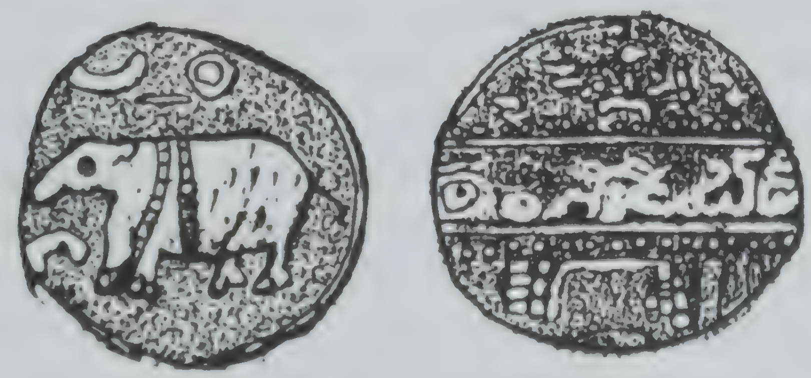
Girijapathi and Ganesh have described three gold coins and have attributed them to Vikramāditya VI.[45] All of them are die-struck gold coins and are similar in typology and fabric. However, only one of them is inscribed.

Weight, 3.7 gms; diameter 14 mms.

obv: A boar to left, sun and moon above; Kannaḍa numeral 1 in front of the boar.

rev: Highly ornamented flan with *śankha* and *chakra;* Kannaḍa legend *Karunāḍabūpa*

It has to be noted that this coin is a double die coin whereas the other coins of this dynasty so far discovered belong to the punch type. This difference has to be noted.



Coin of Vikramāditya

The title *Karunāḍa bhūpa* can not be attributed to anybody other than the most distinguished Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI and hence this coin has been attributed to him.

Though the other two coins do not contain any legend, they have been attributed to this king because of the similarity in fabric and typology.

weight 3.9 gms; diameter 12 mms.

obv: A boar to right; sun and moon above

rev: A floral design and *triśūla* flanked by lamp stand.

The other coin is also similar and weighs 3.8 gms; diameter 13 mms.

obv: A boar to right, sun and moon above

rev: Large eight petalled lotus

However, these coins require further confirmation as regards their attribution to Chālukya Vikramāditya VI.

Miscellaneous coins

In addition to these coins described above which are of definite attribution, many coins of uncertain or doubtful attribution have been reported. They may be studied now.

Coins of Ayyaṇa

In the Koḍūr treasure trove are coins which may be attributed to Chālukya prince Ayyaṇa.[46] It is known that Vikramāditya V was succeeded by his brother Ayyaṇa and he ruled for a couple of months and he abdicated the throne in favour of his younger brother Jayasimha II. The coins in question are round and contain two *Śrī,* sun and moon and the legend *Yaṇa* in Kannaḍa characters. Some coins contain lion in the interspaces. Krishna Sastry thought that the legend *Yaṇa,* perhaps, is a contraction of *Nārāyaṇa.* However, it is more likely that *Yaṇa* represents *Ayyaṇa,* the name of the Chālukya prince. The coin in all other respects resembles the Chālukya coins. Hence, in all likelihood this coin may be an issue of Chālukya prince Ayyaṇa.

Coins of Daśavarma

Taila II had a son named Daśavarma and it is quite likely that he did not come to the Chālukya throne. Probably he was a Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati under his elder brother's rule. In the Koḍūr treasure trove there is a coin which can be attributed to this ruler.[47] Only one coin of this type has been noticed. It is about one inch in diameter and almost resembles certain coins of Jayasimha and Trailokyamalla.[48] In the centre is a tusker elephant and round it sun and moon flanked by Kannaḍa legend *Daśa* at the top and *Varma* at the bottom. As this coin resembles in all respects the Chālukya coin and also the fact that it contains the legend *Daśavarma,* there is no difficulty in attributing this coin to Chālukya prince Daśavarma.

Coins of Lakshmīdēvi

G.H. Khare brought to light some *Padmaṭankas* which were in the State treasury of Bhor and attributed them to Lakshmīdēvi, the chief queen of Vikramāditya VI.[49] These coins are cup-shaped and bear an eight petalled lotus in the centre. Below this is the symbol of a conch and above is the legend *Śrī Lashumā* in Kannaḍa characters. Below the legend is the sword with its hilt. The reverse side is blank. These coins were found in association with the *Padmaṭankas* of Sēvuṇa rulers. These coins, though very similar to those of the Sēvuṇas, cannot be attributed to any of the Sēvuṇa rulers because no king by the name Lashuma flourished in that dynasty. Considering these aspects and the palaeography of the legend, Khare attributed these coins to Vikramāditya VI's queen Lakshmīdēvi.

Altekar, however, questioned this attribution. He wrote "It is likely that the coins in the Bhor treasury may be *Padmaṭankas* issued by temples bearing the names of Rāma and his brother Lakshmaṇa, instead of their portraits. In that case the legend Lashuma would have to be taken as Prakritised abbreviation of Lakshmaṇa and not Lakshmī. I am inclined to think that the coins in the Bhor treasury are not the issues of any dynasty, but *Padmaṭankas* of the *Rāmaṭanka* variety, bearing the names and not the portraits of some of the Rāmāyaṇa heroes."[50]

Chattopadhyaya examined this problem and emphasised the difference in fabric and typology of the *Ramaṭanka* coins and the coins of the Bhor treasury.[51] *Ramaṭankas* are double die struck coins whereas the *Padmaṭankas* are heavier ranging from 159 to 1485 grains in weight. The *Rāmaṭankas* were meant for worship and thus it was perhaps essential that they should contain the portraits of the Rāmāyaṇa heroes. Hence, the *Padmaṭankas* of the Bhor treasury cannot be grouped as *Rāmaṭankas.* Hence the opinion of Altekar is untenable.

Some inscriptions from Dharwar refer to Vikramāditya's queen Lakshmīdēvi ruling certain areas. At Sūḍi in Dharwar was a mint in Vikramāditya's time, and that area was administered by Lakshmīdēvi.[52] Hence, Chattopadhyaya concludes that atleast some coins struck in this mint could have been issued in the name of Vikramāditya's queen Lakshmīdēvi. So the coins in the Bhor treasury may belong to this type.

P.L. Gupta does not accept this attribution. He attributes these coins to Lakshmīdēva, the Ābhīra chief of Bhambhargiri and a contemporary of Singhaṇa.[53] His main argument is since the Bhor treasury coins are found in association with the Sēvuṇa coins, the former should be placed nearer the Sēvuṇa rulers.[54]

Though there is no certainty in all these arguments, it is not improbable that the coins with the legend *Śrī Lakshumā* or *Śrī Lakshmā* may belong to Chālukya queen Lakshmādēvi or Lakshmīdēvi. Whether she was entitled to issue coins in her own name independent of her husband has to be considered. It is a well known fact that in ancient times, both central and local authorities had the privilege of issuing coins. This is borne out by the fact that Uttavōja, the goldsmith of Vikramāditya VI, was in charge of the die containing the royal seal.[55] Lakshmīdēvi, the queen of Vikramāditya VI, had her own share in administration is shown by contemporary inscriptions. One of them records the grant of the village Pomgari by *Piriyarasi* Lakshmīdēvi to Somēśvara Paṇḍita.[56] Another record mentions grants to Mahājanas of Drōṇapura when chief queen Lakshmīdēvi was governing the town.[57] So a queen influential in administration should have had the privilege of minting coins also. Hence, it may not be impossible that Lakshmīdēvi issued coins in her name. Though rare in numismatic history of India, this is a unique instance of a queen minting the coins.

In the Koḍūr treasure trove are seen certain coins which resemble the Chālukyan coins in fabric and size.[58] They are roughly round and are punched on the obverse only. They vary from 0.7" to 0.8" in diameter. They bear the legend *Bhujaba,* obviously standing for *Bhujabala* in Kannaḍa characters of the twelfth Century A.D. They also have conventional *Śrī* similar to the one that we find on other Chālukyas coins. Also seen are sun and moon and some minor symbols.

There are some minor variations in the coins described above.[59] Some of them show a hook attached to a spear having a dot inside the hook and three dots in a cluster on the other side of the spear remote from the hook. The point of the spear is flanked by the moon and the sun on its right and left sides. The legend *Bhujaba* and conventional *Śrī* are similar to those on the coins mentioned above.

It is very difficult to say who this *Bhujabala* was. Most of the Chālukya kings had that title *Bhujabalavīra.* Hence it is not possible to ascribe this coin to any particular Chālukyan king. However, the palaeography of the legend suggests twelfth Century A.D. as the date of these coins. Though the title *Bhujabala and Bhujavīra* are common in the Telugu-Chola kings of Nellore region, the unmistakable Kannaḍa legend on these coins, excludes them as the authors of these coins. Moreover these coins are extremely similar to those of the coins of Jagadēkamalla, Trailōkyamalla and Bhuvanaikamalla. From these points, we can ascribe these coins to the Chālukya dyanasty. M.H. Krishna attributed these coins with the legend *Bhujabala* to Vikramāditya VI. His argument is " the great number of the coins and the attempted restoration of better art indicates a long and prosperous reign which could be only that of Vikramāditya VI who reigned for 50 years."[60] This attribution is highly conjectural.

Krishna ascribed certain coins containing the legend *para* to Taila II.[61] These coins contain nine punches representing five lions, two *Śrī* and the legend *para* in Kannaḍa characters twice. Though this is a Chālukya coin, its attribution to Taila II is conjectural.

Another coin almost similar to the one mentioned above contains the legend *Māna.*[62] Krishna thinks that *Māna* may stand for *Mānavya,* the generic name assumed by the Chālukyas. He attributes this coin without any justification to Vikramāditya V.

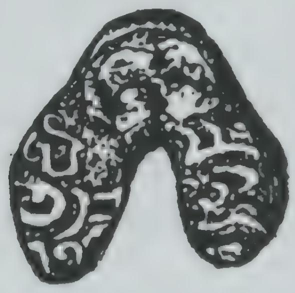
A similar coin with the legend *gaja* has been ascribed by Krishna to prince Jayasimha.[63] A coin with the legend *Bhujabala* has been ascribed by Krishna to Somēśvara III.[64] Another similar coin with Tamil legend *Bhujaba* has been attributed to Vikramāditya VI.[65] The Tamil legend, Krishna thinks, was due to Vikramāditya conquering Kanchi and staying in Tamil country for some time. All the above attributions are highly conjectural and should remain so until further fresh evidence is available.

Some interesting gold coins were found in Walve in South Satara district.[66] The coins in this hoard can be divided into three types. The first type has a peculiar shape resembling the letter V. On the obverse of these coins are found three punches from three different dies. One of them represents a boar or an elephant. The other two punches represent legends in Kannaḍa characters of the 11th Century A.D. Though it is difficult to read these legends satisfactorily, the following readings have been suggested. *Asasa, gamda, Bhave, trahi, macha* are the words that can be seen.

The second type of coin is round and tiny with 0.2" in diameter and the weight ranging from 11 to 12.04 grains. The obverse of these coins contains an animal, a boar or a lion and the reverse has a South Indian temple (similar to those on the coins of Chālukya Jagadēkamalla) with sun and moon.

The third type is also round with a diameter of 0.2". Their weight ranges from 11.5 to 12.5 grains. On the obverse of these coins is a seated Garuḍa with both hands on his hips. The reverse shows a trident or a *tilaka.*

The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa were ruling over South Satara District where some coins belonging to the 11th Century A.D. are discovered. The coins show the Kannaḍa legends which can be assigned to the 11th Century A.D. Hence, these coins could be ascribed to the Chālukyas or some of their feudatories who were ruling in the South Satara district during the period. However, information on these chiefs or feudatories is not available fully.



Coin from Walve hoard

Recently, Shailendra Bhandare has collected 22 coins of this type and has analysed them in great detail.[67] Though he has analysed each one of these coins and identified the symbols and the legends on them, he has not been able to identify the issuers of these coins. As these coins were confined mostly to the district of Satara, these can be referred to as highly localised issues. He has divided these coins into four groups and suggested the following reading of the legends;

Bhave-arasa; Trahi-macha; Gadaba; Nisa; Satavama; Murāri; Gura(ka); Badu-kara; Rāya-goba; Rāya-Bhōja; Bhōja-rāya; Śrī-subha; Samo-sapa; Sam; Parasa, Du-dem.

Individually these legends do not convey any sense and hence difficult to ascribe them to any particular king or even to a dynasty. Hence this requires further analysis and research.

The Coins of the Kalachuris

The Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa were the subordinates of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and flourished as such for some time. But when time was favourable they overthrew their masters, the Chālukyas and became independent, and ruled for a short period as independent rulers. Bijjaḷa II was the great ruler who achieved this success which was short lived.

Coins of the Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa are very rare. Elliot brought to light gold coins which have been ascribed to Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva.[68] These gold coins weighing 54.5 grains were discovered in Satara district. The obverse of the coins contains a human figure advancing to the right. The reverse has a three line legend in Kannaḍa characters of the 12th Century A.D. The central line has a straight horizontal line on top and bottom thus separating the three lines. The central line of the legend reads *Murāri* and on this basis this coin has been attributed to Rayamurāri Sōvidēva of the Kalachuri family.

Coins of the punched variety, almost similar to those of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa have also been attributed on highly conjectural grounds to the Kalachuris. One of the coins with nine punches has been attributed to Bijjaḷa II as it contains the legend *Kalachure* in it.[69] The reading is highly doubtful and hence this cannot be taken as authentic.

Recently, Girijapathi and Ganesh have attributed a gold coin to Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva.[70] The importance of this coin according to them lies in the fact that it mentions Basavaṇṇa, the great Vīraśaiva teacher. However, the reading is not beyond doubt.

Metal, gold; weight 3.4 gms and diameter 17 mms

obv: Garuḍa moving to right

rev: Three line Kannaḍa legend with lines in between
Basava
navara
baṭaru

They explain that this coin was issued by Sōvidēva in honour of Basavaṇṇa and proclaiming himself as the soldier or follower of Basavaṇṇa. Though interesting, this coin requires further confirmatory evidence.

Before closing this chapter, it would be desirable to refer to a unique inscription which provides very interesting information reading a mint-master of the Chālukyan period in general and that of Taila III in particular. This epigraph is from Naragunda in Dharwad district of the time of king Taila III.[71] It is in the Rangamaṇṭapa of the Śankaralinga temple. The record refers to a grant made by Kuppaṭi Ēchiseṭṭi of Hēmangēri. The Chālukya king Taila III thought that Ēchiseṭṭi was the right person to be in-charge of the mint there and appointed him as the *Acchina Adhikāri* (mint-master). He discharged his duties efficiently and faithfully. Pleased by this, the king Taila conferred upon him the title *'Hēmakuppaṭi* and from then on he came to be called *Hēmakuppaṭi Ēchiseṭṭi.* Ēchiseṭṭi was an expert in testing the fineness of metals and was an expert in metallurgy in addition to being a trustworthy person and hence was eminently suited for the job of the mint-master. The term *kuppaṭi* means a firepan and it is of interest to know that it must have been an apparatus in the minting operations. As Ēchiseṭṭi possessed this equipment, he was referred to by this adjective as *kuppaṭi Ēchiseṭṭi.* The locality Hēmagēri which was a part of Naragunda, literally means an area of gold. From this it becomes clear that the mint of this period was located here and minted gold coins. Thus the present inscription gives us a glimpse into the activities of a Chālukyan mint-master.[72]

REFERENCES

1. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. XX, Nos. 47 and 77.
2. *Gadyāṇa* is very common and almost all inscriptions mention this coin.

3. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. XX, Nos. 39, 60, 82, 118.
4. *Ibid.,* Nos. 76, 82, 85, 102, 106.
5. *Ibid.,* Nos. 78, 129.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.,* Nos. 54, 68, 80, 85.
8. *Ibid.,* Vol. XV, No. 15.
9. *Ibid.,* Vol. XX, Nos. 47, 85, 138.
10. *Ibid.,* Vol. XI, Pt. ii, No. 153.
11. *Ibid.,* Vol. XV, No. 67.
12. Though silver coins of the Chālukyas are rare, some of them have been reported, and the present reference confirms the minting of coins in silver also.
13. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. 37, p. 189.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. XV, No. 22.
16. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy,* 1925-26, c. 437.
17. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. IX, Part i, No. 164.
18. It is also possible that *Navilacchina pon,* as in the case of Lokki *pon,* may mean *pon* minted at Navilūr.
19. This also raises a doubt whether the same coin *pon* minted with different symbols or minted at different mints could be different in weight. *Navilacchinaponnam Lokkiya Ponnāniyum āponna tūkamāgi poydu salisuvaru.*
20. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. XI, Part ii, No. 189.
21. These coins were studied by H. Krishna Sastry who prepared a note on them and this note was published by the Government of Madras (Home Department) as Government Order No. 1106, dated 11th October 1971, under the title *Kodur Treasure Trove.*
22. The broken pots are kept in the Madras Government Museum. Madras.
23. *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. 25, p. 231. Specimen No. 29. Similar coin has been described by Desikachari and he also has ascribed this coin to Jayasimha II. *South Indian Coins,* p. 54.
24. *Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series,* No. 13, Specimens 29 to 35.

25. *Ibid.,* Specimen No. 104.

26. *Ibid.,* 1933, p. 100, Coin No. 5.

27. *MAR.,* 1933, p. 100, Coin No. 5.

28. *Kodur Treasure Trove,* group X.

29. *Coins of Southern India,* Plate ii, No. 60.

30. *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum,* p. 313.

31. Similar coins have been reported from Bijapur by S.R. Bhandarkar *JBBRAS.,* Vol. 21, p. 66. The word *pagoda* has been used by some of the Western numismatists to denote certain type of the gold coins, which contained the symbol of a temple. *Pagoda* originally meant a temple and as some gold coins contained that symbol, the word became common for gold coins. Such *pagodas* were in use till recently.

32. *Kodur Treasure Trove,* group xii, No. c.

33. *Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series,* No. 13, coin No. 26.

34. *Ibid.,* Specimens 27 and 28.

35. *MAR.,* 1933, p. 101; *Early History of the Deccan,* Ed. (Yazadani), p. 802; Smith: *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum,* p. 313; P.l. Gupta: *Coins,* p. 74.

36. *Kodur Treasure Trove,* p. 7.

37. *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. 25, p. 321.

38. *MAR.,* 1933, p. 102.

39. *Ibid.,* Coin No. 10. Altekar simply follows Krishna in this regard and accepts these coins as those of Sōmēśvara I. *Early History of the Deccan,* Ed. Yazadni, pp. 802-03.

40. *Kodur Treasure Trove,* group xi.

41. *MAR.,* 1933, p. 103.

42. *SSIC.,* III, p. 14. The Kolanupaka inscription refers to him by this title.

43. *Ibid.,* p. 14.

44. *Ibid.,* VI, pp. 67-70.

45. Paper presented at the Conference of the Numismatic Society of India at Ernakulam, 1995. (*JNSI* in press).

46. *Kodur Treasure Trove,* group viii.

47. *Kodur Treasure Trove,* group xii, Category F.

48. *Indian Antiquary,* 25, p. 321, Nos. 24 to 29.

49. *JNSI.,* Vol. 3. 53.

50. *Ibid.,* p. 55.

51. *Ibid.,* Vol. 32, p. 184.

52. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. XI, Part ii, Inscription No. 153.

53. There were two persons by name Lakshmīdēvi who were contemporaries of Singhaṇa. One was the Raṭṭa chief Laksmīdēva II who was defeated by Singhaṇa's general Vichana. The other was the Ābhīra chief Lakshmīdēva. The Tiḷivaḷḷi inscription claims that Singhaṇa destroyed the entire family of Lakshmīdēva. The Amben inscription mentions Lakshmīdēva, the chief of Bhambhagiri as being defeated by Singhaṇa's general Kholēśvara. Hēmādri also mentions Lakshmīdhara of Bhambhagiri. For details see, A.V. Narasimha Murthy: The *Sevunas of Devagiri,* Mysore, 1972.

54. *JNSI.,* Vol. 32, p. 187.

55. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. XI, Part ii, Inscription No. 153.

56. *Ibid.,* No. 131.

57. *Ibid.,* No. 126.

58. *Kodur Treasure Trove,* group v (a).

59. *Ibid.,* group v (b).

60. *MAR.,* 1933, p. 104.

61. *Ibid.,* p. 99.

62. *Ibid.,* Coin No. 4.

63. *Ibid.,* Coin No. 14.

64. *Ibid.,* Coin No. 16.

65. *Ibid.,* Coin No. 17.

66. *JNSI.,* Vol. 20. p. 78.

67. Paper presented at sixth Annual conference of South Indian Numismatic Society, held at Mysore in Feb. 1996.

68. *Coins of Southern India,* Plate III, No. 87.

69. P.L. Gupta, *Coins,* p. 74.

70. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India held at Ernakulam, 1995. *(JNSI,* in press).

71. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. XVIII, No. 160.

72. Recently a gold coin with Kannada legend Śrivara has been reported. Though this is a Chālukya coin the issuer is yet to be identified.

CHAPTER XI

THE COINS OF THE HOYSAḶAS

The Hoysaḷas dominated the political and cultural scene of Karnataka for about three centuries from 1000 A.D. till the middle of the fourteenth century when they were defeated completely by the Muslims.[1] They started their career as feudatories and after defeating the Kalyāṇa Chālukyas became a sovereign power. During the hey-day of their power Hoysaḷa empire included most parts of southern Karnataka. They spent lot of their resources to fight against the Sēvuṇas, their hereditary rivals. However, Tungabhadrā became the boudary between the two powers. The Hoysaḷas had the good fortune of having some of the illustrious rulers like Vinayāditya (1045-98), Ereyanga (1098-1100), Vishṇuvardhana (1108-52), Narasimha I (1152-73), Ballāḷa II (1173-1220), Narasimha II (1220-35), Sōmēśvara (1235-53) and Ballāḷa III (1292-1342). The Hoysaḷa kings were great temple builders and built over 400 temples of different sizes. They are famous for minute carvings. They also patronised Kannaḍa literature to a large extent. They issued over 800 inscriptions in Sanskrit, Kannaḍa and Tamil which contain useful material for understanding their coinage also. The role of Śrī Rāmānujāchārya during the period of Vishṇuvardhana is another feature of their history. Such a mighty power failed miserably against the Muslim invasions and was wiped out of the land by the middle of the fourteenth century.

Though the Hoysaḷas issued a large number of inscriptions, their coins are rare. From the paucity of coin hoards it is very difficult to reconstruct the history of the coins of their dynasty. Of the so many kings who adorned the Hoysaḷa throne, only two kings are definitely known through their coins.

The Hoysaḷa coins belong to the type of double die struck coins. They are different from the coins of the Kalyāṇa Chālukyas who followed the punch marked type of coinage. It is a matter of interest to note that the Hoysaḷas who were the feudatories of the Chālukyas till they became independent chose altogether a different type in their coinage. Not only in type but also in weight-standard, the Hoysaḷa coins are different from those of the Kalyāṇa Chālukyas. The standard weight of a *varaha* or a *gadyāṇa* of the Hoysaḷa period was 63 grains whereas the Chālukyan coin of the corresponding denomination weighed 58 grains. Thus there is a divergence between the Hoysaḷa and Chālukya coins.

However, we may notice that there is a certain amount of similarity between the Chōḷa and the Hoysaḷa coins. The Chōḷas were a powerful dynasty and dominated the political scene of South India for many centuries. The Hoysaḷas and the Chōḷas fought against each other on many occasions and it was Vishṇuvardhana who defeated the Chōḷas in 1116 A.D., and recovered Talakāḍ from them. To commemorate this great victory he not only assumed the title *'Talakāḍugoṇḍa'* but also issued a coin bearing this title. The Chōḷa coins have a standard weight of 63 grains as those of the Hoysaḷas. Thus it is quite clear that in fabric and weight the Hoysaḷas followed the Chōḷas. M.H. Krishna explains that the coins of the Chōḷa weightage had become quite established during the century of Chōḷa rule in Karnataka, so that the conquering enemy (Hoysaḷas) had to adopt it.[2] It may also be possible that Vishṇuvardhana after defeating the Chōḷas thought it fit to mint coins of the Chōḷa type in his own name just to show that he vanquished them.

The Hoysaḷa epigraphs are extremely useful for understanding the currency system of the period as they mention frequently the name of the coins, their relative value and different monetary transactions. The names of the coins that occur in the Hoysaḷa inscriptions are *Nishka, Gadyāṇa, Varaha, Hon* or *Pon, Tāra, Paṇa or Haṇa, Hāga, Vīsa, Bēḷe, Kāṇi and Aḍḍa.*

The word *nishka* which denoted a gold coin of the highest value is rarely mentioned in the epigraphs as a survival. Perhaps this term was not popular during the period. It was used to denote a *gadyāṇa* which was the most popular gold coin of the period. An inscription of Narasimha II dated 1220 A.D. mentions the coin *nishka* three times in connection with the revenue of the village Diṇḍagūr.[3] The term *Śuddha suvarṇa nishka* occurs in two inscriptions of the period dated 1200 and 1216 A.D.[4] Obviously the description is meant to convey the information that the coins in question are pure gold coins. As no scientific studies in this regard have been attempted, the ratio of gold content in the Hoysaḷa coins is not known.

Gadyāṇa enjoyed the status of the highest value as also the popularity. *Gadyāṇas* were used for different types of transactions such as commercial and religious. They were also used for the payment of salary to the teachers in educational institutions. The references to *gadyāṇas* are too numerous to be mentioned here. However, *gadyāṇas* were also qualified by certain terms. *Gangana gadyāṇa* is mentioned in an inscription of the period. It is difficult to understand the exact significance of this coin. Gangarāja was an illustrious and powerful minister under Vishṇuvardhana, and had received many grants from the king. Hence it may be surmised that this was a coin minted by him, of course, under the orders of the king. Or it is also possible that the king himself minted some specific gold coins in honour of this great personality which came to be known as *Gangana gadyāṇa.*

Lokkiguṇḍi had a mint during the Kalyāṇa Chālukya period and perhaps it continued its operation during the Hoysaḷa period also. This is confirmed by *Lokki gadyāṇa* which occurs in an inscription of the Hoysaḷas dated 1179 A.D.[5]

Haḷiyārada gadyāṇa is found mentioned in an inscription of 1272 A.D.[6] If Haḷiyāra is taken as a place, it becomes clear that there was a mint at the town Haḷiyāra and the *gadyāṇas* minted there were known by the name *Haḷiyārada gadyāṇa.* The term *Hoysaḷa gadyāṇa* is mentioned in an inscription from Belur.[7] Some parts of Karnataka were under the influence of the Sēvuṇas who also used *gadyāṇas.* Just to distinguish them from the local *gadyāṇas* the term *Hoysaḷa* *gadyāṇa* should have been used. The meaning of *Hosaḷakki gadyāṇa* is not known.[8]

The term *Narasimha gadyāṇa* occurs in the inscription from Belur taluk.[9] Obviously it is a *gadyāṇa* on which is found the portrayal of the god Narasimha. It could also refer to the *gadyāṇa* issued by king Narasimha. It is well known that coins were known by the name of the issuer as also the portraits of the gods on them. In the present context both the explanations are satisfactory.

The term *Tippūrina gadyāṇa* is mentioned in an inscription of 1272 A.D. from Tumkur district.[10] Obviously it refers to a *gadyāṇa* minted at Tippūru.

The term *Dugada gadyāṇa* is found in an inscription from Mandya district dated 1290 A.D.[11] The editor of the *Kannaḍa Nighaṇṭu* has taken the word *dugada* in the meaning of 'two' and hence the term in question refers to two *gadyāṇas.* It is not known if it refers to a double *gadyāṇa* coin (as was the case in the Vijayanagara period). In that case such a gold coin is yet to be discovered.

From a close study of some inscriptions of the Hoysaḷas, there appears to be two different types of *gadyāṇas.* An inscription of king Narasimha furnished a situation in which 331 *gadyāṇas* were compensated by 402 *gadyāṇas* by the king.[12] Thus there is a difference of 71 *gadyāṇas.* In another instance 54 *gadyāṇas* were obtained in exchange for 65 *gadyāṇas.*[13] This furnishes a difference of 11 *gadyāṇas.* These differences are intriguing as the inscriptions themselves do not furnish any explanation in this regard. It is not known if the reference is to *gadyāṇas* of higher and lower gold content in them. It is only a plausible explanation.

Though the coin term *Varaha* is mentioned in Hoysaḷa inscriptions, their frequency is very meagre, as compared to the term *gadyāṇa.* This shows that the term *Varaha* had not yet become popular during the period. It is of some interest to note that the term *Varaha gadyāṇa* occurs in an inscription of Ballāḷa II.[14] It is mentioned that 46 *Varaha* *gadyāṇas* were paid for the purchase of a land. Obviously *Varaha* and *gadyāṇa* referred to the same gold coin during the period.

Pon or *hon* as a gold coin is mentioned in many Hoysaḷa epigraphs. An inscription of Sōmēśvara dated 1270 A.D. refers to the construction of a tank at a cost of 500 *hons.*[15] An inscription from Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa makes it clear that *gadyāṇa* and *hon* referred to the same coin.[16] *Lokki pon, Hoḷe hon* are the varieties of this coin during the period.

Paṇa or *haṇa* was a very popular gold coin during the period. It was used for a variety of smaller transactions. While mentioning the transactions during the period, the *gadyāṇa* is followed by *paṇa* which shows that *paṇa* was the next lower gold coin after *gadyāṇa.* Many Hoysaḷa inscriptions are helpful in understanding the relative value between *gadyāṇa* and *paṇa.* An inscription of Ballāḷa III dated 1298 A.D. refers to a series of grants by individuals, and the grand total is referred to as 11 *gadyāṇas* and 40 *paṇas.*[17] The same amount is also expressed as 15 *gadyāṇas* which means that 4 *gadyāṇas* were equal to 40 *paṇas* and hence a *gadyāṇa* was equal to 10 *paṇas.*

The coin *aḍḍa* is also mentioned in many Hoysaḷa inscriptions. A Hoysaḷa inscription of 12th century registers a grant of one *aḍḍa* of gold to god Kōbēśvara for burning a perpetual lamp.[18] Another epigraph from Bastihaḷḷi of Narasimha III dated 1262 A.D. refers to a tax at the rate of one *aḍḍa* per cart load of betel leaves.[19] The first inscription makes it clear that the coin *aḍḍa* was a gold coin.

Hāga is mentioned very frequently in the inscriptions of the period. An inscription from Narasipur in Belur taluk mentions a series of interests which works out to 36 *hāgas* and this is stated as equal to 9 *paṇas.*[20] From this it becomes clear that one *paṇa* was equal to four *hāgas.* Another inscription from the same place gives some grants the total of which is expressed as 9 *gadyās* or 36 *hāgas.*[21] This also makes it clear that a *paṇa* was equal to 4 *hāgas.*

Vīsa is the next coin. It is also frequently mentioned in Hoysaḷa inscriptions. An inscription from Belur mentions a series of transactions for the supply of milk to the temple.[22] The total of the cost is given as 2 *gadyāṇas* and 2½ *paṇas.* This is also expressed as 360 *vīsas.* From this it becomes clear that one *hāga* was equal to four *vīsas.*

Bēḷe was the next coin. An inscription refers to a donation from two villages Tippūru and Haḷiyāra.[23] The total works out to 40 *gadyāṇas* 14 *paṇas* 1 *hāga* and 1 *bēḷe.* This is also expressed as 41 *gadyāṇas* 4 *paṇa* 1 *hāga* and 1 *bēḷe.* From this we can know that *vīsa* was equal to 2 *bēḷe.*

Tāra is a silver coin. It is mentioned in an inscription from Shimoga district dated 1286 A.D.[24] Other details are not known.

Kāṇi is a copper coin. An inscription of Ballāḷa II dated 1181 A.D. mentions a tax to be paid in *kāṇi.*[25] Half of this coin was *arekāṇi.* Thus we have such a detailed data regarding Hoysaḷa coinage from their epigraphs.

Many Kannaḍa literary works of the Hoysaḷa period incidentally contain some data regarding the coinage of the period. This data coupled with epigraphic data gives a better picture of the coinage of the Hoysaḷas. Firstly a reference has to be made to *Vyavahāragaṇita* written by Rājāditya. He was a court poet of Hoysaḷa Vishṇuvardhana. He is the author of *Vyavahāragaṇita, Kshētragaṇita, Vyavahāraratna, Līlāvati* etc.[26] He has furnished the relative value of Hoysaḷa coinage as follows: 4 *kāṇi* = 1 *vīsa;* 5 *vīsa* = 1 *hāga;* 4 *hāga* = 1 *paṇa;* 10 *paṇa* = 1 *gadyāṇa.* His another work *Līlāvati* has another list of coins. 20 *cowries* = 1 *kākiṇī;* 4 *kākiṇi* = 1 *paṇa;* 16 *paṇa* = 1 *dramma;* 16 *dramma* = 1 *nishka.* Nayasēna's *Dharmāmṛita* refers to half of a *kāṇi,* called *arekāṇi.*[27] Mēghaṇadi, the author of *Śrāvakāchāra* refers to *kāgini, vīsa* and *paṇa.*[28] Nāgachandra in his *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa* refers to *kāgiṇi.*[29]

Thus from the epigraphic and literary data the following relative values of the Hoysaḷa coins may be reconstructed.

1 *gadyāṇa* = 1 *nishka* = 1 *varaha* = 1 *hon*
1 *gadyāṇa* = 10 *paṇas* = 62 grains

1 *paṇa* = 4 *hāgas* = 6.2 grains
1 *paṇa* = 2 *aḍḍa*
1 *hāga* = 4 *vīsa* = 1.5 grains
1 *vīsa* = 2 *bēḷe* = 0.8 grains
1 *bēḷe* = 2 *kāṇi (Kāgiṇī)*
1 *kagini* = 2 *arekāṇi*

Of the coins mentioned above, all the coins have been found except *bēḷe* and *tāra.* Now we may refer to the actual specimens of coins so far noticed by numismatists.

Coin of Vinayāditya

Vinayāditya was one of the Hoysaḷa rulers and ruled between 1047 and 1098 A.D. One coin has been attributed to this king, though the attribution is not completely free from doubts. The coin in question is of gold and weighs 58. 2 grains. The obverse contains five lions punched and has the letter *Śrī* in the centre. The reverse has a Kannaḍa legend. Only three letters of this legend is clearly visible. It has been read as *Unaya.* On this basis it has been taken to represent the coin of Vinayāditya. But the well known coins of the Hoysaḷas belong to the die struck type and not to the punch marked type. The coin in question belongs to the punch marked variety. Punch marked coins of similar type were in circulation during the period of the Kalyāṇa Chālukyas. However, Krishna takes this coin to be that of Vinayāditya on two grounds.[30] Firstly the weight of this coin conforms to the general weight pattern of the Hoysaḷa coins. Secondly he surmises that Vinayāditya must have had a title *Udayāditya.* Inspite of all these arguments, we cannot be sure of the certainty of the attribution of this to Hoysaḷa Vinayāditya.

Coins of Vishṇuvardhana

We are on a surer ground when we come to the coins of the time of Hoysaḷa king Vishṇuvardhana. Even though his coins also do not contain his name, fortunately they refer to his celebrated titles by which the attribution of coins to Vishṇuvardhana becomes certain.

The following are the various types of coins issued by Vishṇuvardhana.

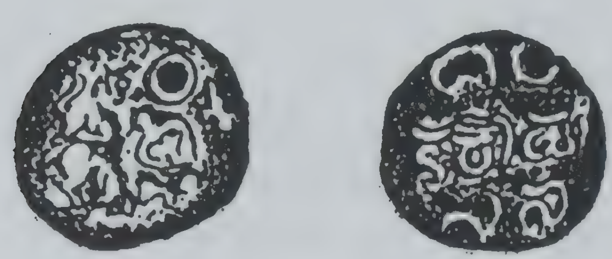
Type A: This is a gold coin of 61.75 grains and measures 0.55".

obv: There is a linear border running round the coin. Within this circle are two lions; smaller one at the top and bigger one at the bottom. The smaller lion has sun and moon to its right and left. The lower bigger lion is maned and has left fore paw raised and face turned towards a pillar on which rests a discus. Thus the whole obverse is crowded.

rev: There is a linear border running round the coin. Within this circle is a legend in Kannaḍa script of the 12th Century A.D. The legend is in three lines as follows:

Śrī Ta
ḷakaḍu
goṇḍa

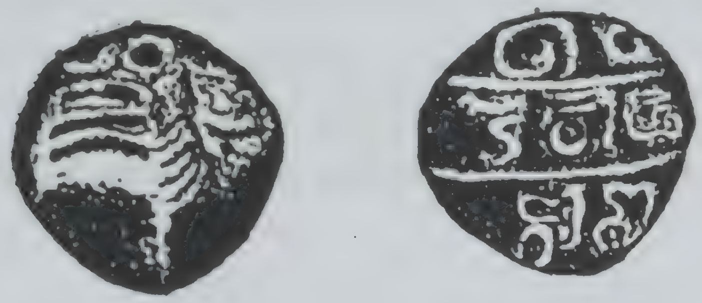
However, upper portion of the letters of the first line and the lower portion of the third line are off the flan in many coins.



Coin of Vishṇuvardhana

Though this coin does not contain the name of Vishṇuvardhana his title *Talakāḍugoṇḍa* is well known. His general Gangarāja[31] defeated the Chōḷas and recovered Talakāḍu in 1116 A.D. Consequently Vishṇuvardhana assumed this title. Hence the issuer of this gold coin can be none other than Vishṇuvardhana. The smaller lion in the obverse of this coin may be taken to represent the Hoysaḷa crest and the lower lion may stand for Chāmuṇḍi or Durgi.

Type B: A similar coin has ben illustrated by Elliot.[32] But a small difference can be noticed in the reverse of the coin. Though this coin also contains the legend *Talakāḍugoṇḍa* in three lines, there are straight lines between the first and the second, and second and the third lines of the legend. As both these coins contain two lions, for the sake of convenience, these may be called Double lion type.



Coin of Vishṇuvardhana

Type C: This coin can be called a single lion type as it contains a big lion on the obverse.[33] The lion occupies the entire of the obverse. The lion is shown in a heraldic way with four legs resting on the ground. The tail is raised over the body. On the top of the tail are seen sun and moon and below the lion are seen some indistinct symbols. This lion is very similar to the one that is seen on the temples of the Hoysaḷas. The reverse is similar to type B as it contains the legend *Talakāḍugoṇḍa* in three lines with two horizontal lines in between

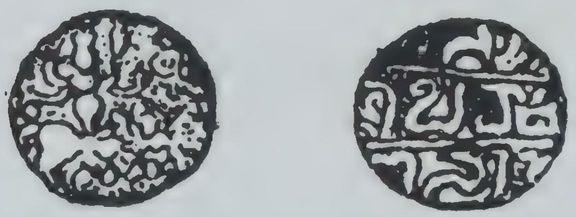
Type D: It is also a gold coin probably a *Varaha*.[34] It weighs 63 grains and measures 0.6".

obv: There is a linear border round the coin. Within this circle is seen the goddess Durgā or Chāmuṇḍi sitting on a maned lion. The goddess has *chakra* and *śankha* in her left and right hands respectively. The other two hands of the deity are not clear. The goddess is shown as wearing a *kirīṭa*.

rev: A linear circle runs round the coin. Within this circle is a legend in Kannaḍa script of the 12th Century in three lines as follows:

Śrī No
naṃbavāḍi
goṇḍa

Between the lines of the inscription are straight lines which separate the writing. Upper part of the first line and the lower part of the last line are off the flan. In fabric as also in the script, this coin closely resembles the one previously described. Like the previous coin, this coin also does not contain the name of Vishṇuvardhana. But the title *Noḷambavāḍigoṇḍa* assumed by Vishṇuvardhana is well known and hence there is no difficulty in ascribing this coin to Vishṇuvardhana.



Coin of Vishṇuvardhana

Type E: This is also a gold coin preserved in the Madras government museum.

obv: Within a circle of dots two lions one of which is smaller.

rev: Within a circle lengend in Kannaḍa.

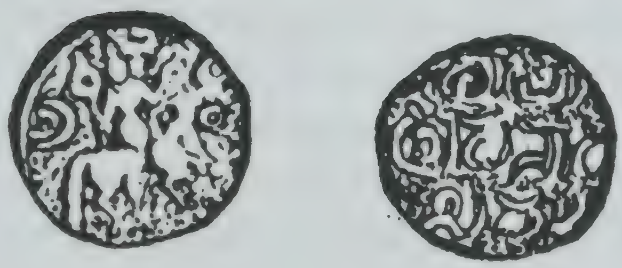
Śrīma
laparo
ḷa gaṇḍa

Though many Hoysaḷa kings had this title, this coin can be identified as that of Vishṇuvardhana.

Coin of Narasimha I

Only one coin of this king is known so far. It is a gold coin *(varaha)* of 63 grains[35] and measures 0.55." The obverse of this coin has a linear circular border. In this circle is the goddess Durgā sitting on the back of a maned lion. The goddess is represented as having a *kirīṭa.* She has a *chakra* and a *śankha* in her left and right hands respectively. On the reverse within a linear border is a legend in three lines. The legend is written in Kannaḍa script of the 12th Century.

Śrī Pra
tāpa Nāra
simgha



Coin of Narasimha

This coin was originally attributed by Hultzsch to Narasimha of the Vijayanagara dynasty.[36] Obviously he was led to this conclusion by the presence of the word *Pratāpa* which invariably occurs in the coins of the Vijayanagara rulers. But coins of the Vijayanagara monarchs are different in nature as compared to the present coin. Usually they weigh 52 grains and conform to the Vijayanagara weight standard. But the present coin conforms to the standard weight of 63 grains of the Hoysaḷa period. Moreover the script of the legend undoubtedly belongs to the 12th Century and hence this coin should be attributed to the Hoysaḷa dynasty. Though more than one king with the name Narasimha flourished in the Hoysaḷa dynasty the palaeography of the legend of this coin makes it clear that this coin could have been issued by Narasimha of the twelfth Century. Hence Narasimha I is the author of this coin.

Recently another Hoysaḷa coin has been collected from the District of South Kanara.[37] It is a gold coin weighing 60.4 grains. The obverse of this coin shows a maned lion to the left with the right paw raised and tail lifted and looped over its back. In the field above to the right there is a circle, probably, representing sun. The reverse has a legend in four lines in Kannaḍa characters of the twelfth Century A.D.

Śrī Ja
gadēkamalla
- - *raja* -
- -

While describing this coin M.M. Prabhu has ascribed this coin to Hoysaḷa Narasimha II.[38] He states that Narasimha II had the title *Jagadēkamalla* and hence this attribution. But this opinion seems to be erroneous. Nowhere Narasimha II seems to have been called *Jagadēkamalla.* He was an imperial ruler of the Hoysaḷa dynasty and had no occasion to add to his name the Chālukya title. The Chālukyas had been completely defeated and they had made their exit from the Karnataka political scene during the period of Hoysaḷa Narasimha II. Hence the attribution of this coin to Hoysaḷa Narasimha II cannot be accepted.

However, attribution of this coin to Hoysaḷa Narasimha I seems more probable. Hoysaḷa Narasimha I was attacked by the Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla in 1143 A.D. and asserted supremacy over Narasimha I. This is evidenced by some inscriptions of the period.[39] Narasimha I was not only a boy but also weak. Probably after this defeat he called himself *Jagadēkamalla Narasimha* in 1153 and 1155 A.D. as evidenced by two inscriptions coming from Kolar District.[40] This clearly shows that Narasimha I prefixed to his name the Chālukya monarch's title *Jagadēkamalla.* If the coin in question has to be ascribed to the Hoysaḷas, Narasimha I would be the most appropriate king because of the Chālukyan prefix to his name. This coin cannot be attributed to the Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla even though the inscription on the reverse mentions him. The Chālukya coins so far known belong to the punch-marked variety with a lotus or a temple in the middle and *Jagadēkamalla* punched round the coin in different punches. No Chālukya ruler is known to have issued double-die struck coins. Hence it becomes difficult to ascribe this coin to Chālukya Jagadēkamalla. Hence in all probability this coin may belong to Hoysaḷa Narasimha I.

In addition to the coins described which are definitely of the Hoysaḷa period, a large number of coins without legends have been attributed to the Hoysaḷa kings on typological grounds. Among them *Vīrarāyi haṇas* are very important. *Haṇas* or *paṇas* of this type were found in plenty all over Deccan and South India.[41] Their significance was not realised immediately because these tiny coins did not contain any legends nor they contained any royal insignia. Some scholars thought that these were the issues of kings of Coorg or those of the Western Indian rulers. However, lion was noticed on some of these coins. The maned lion moving to the right exactly similar to the coins of Vishṇuvardhana were noticed on many of them. On further examination the eyes of the lion, his shoulders, paws, raised neck, tail etc., were seen represented through dots as in the Hoysaḷa coins. This proved conclusively that the obverse of these coins should be connected with the Hoysaḷas. But reverse did not tally with any known Hoysaḷa association. In addition to this, reverse of these coins showed divergent signs and symbols. But in a majority of them boar was seen. Thus coins with the Hoysaḷa lion on the obverse and boar on the reverse were taken to be the issues of Hoysaḷas.

In addition to this typological evidence, some more corroborative evidences could be cited in support of this argument. As we have already seen a *haṇa* is one tenth of a *gadyāṇa* or a *varaha.* In the Hoysaḷa period the latter weighed about 62 grains. The *haṇas* so far discussed showed a weight of about 6.2 grains. Thus relationship between the *varaha* and the *haṇa* is established.

Secondly the geographical areas where these *paṇas* are discovered is also of some significance. These coins have been discovered in the Deccan and parts of South India, thereby showing that they must have been the issues of a powerful empire. Further large quantities of these coins have been discovered in Haḷēbiḍ and other important Hoysaḷa centres.

Thirdly, the appellation *Vīra* was most common in the Hoysaḷa dynasty. Most of the kings right from Vīra Ballāḷa II had this appellation attached to their names. Hence, either Ballāḷa II or Ballāḷa III could be thought of as the Vīrarāya, the issuer of these *haṇas.* Among the *Vīrarāyi haṇas* so far discovered, one can easily notice two types in them on the basis of fabric and finish. Some are crude and others are fine. Hence the cruder variety can be taken as the coins of the period of Vīra Ballāḷa II and the finer issues as those of Vīra Ballāḷa III. Of course this is a conjectural attribution and till we get more authentic evidence, this hypothesis of Krishna may be accepted with reservation.

Coin of Narasimha II

One gold coin without any legend has been ascribed to Narasimha II.[42] But this cannot be without any doubt. This coin weighs 6.7 grains and measures 0.65". On the obverse is seen a lion with a curved line above. On the reverse is the god Narasimha seated in *padmāsana* posture. He is holding a *śankha* and a *chakra* in the left and right hands respectively. According to Krishna this coin resembles closely the coin of Ballāḷa II and hence this may be attributable to Narasimha II. As this coin weighs 6.7 grains only, i.e., one tenth of the *varaha* coin already described, this coin is undoubtedly a *paṇa.*

Coin of Sōmēśvara

This gold coin ascribed to Sōmēśvara weighs 6.5 grains and measures 0.27". On the obverse is the lion with a curved line with ten pellets above. The reverse shows a man standing and holding bow in his left hand with the shaft resting on his shoulder. Krishna identifies this man as either Rāma or Śiva as Kirāta. He however assigns this coin to Sōmēśvara 'who may have been connected in some way with Rāma as seen by the name of Rāmanātha which he gave to his younger son'.[43] Nothing definite can be said about this attribution.

Recently a copper coin from the Amarāvatī river bed at Karūr has been discovered by A. Seetharaman.[44] This is a circular coin; diameter

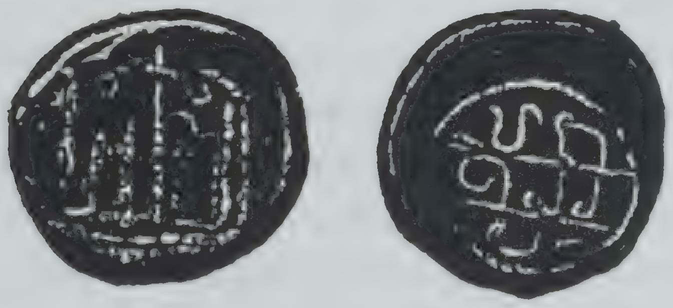
1.5 cms; weight 90 grains.

obv: A three arched rectangular structure; *ankuśa* above; sun and moon on either side; all within a linear circle.

rev: Within a linear circle three line Tamil legend, with horizontal lines.

Pośa
lēs
vara

The structure on the obverse is peculiar as it does not conform to Hoysala temples. Thus its exact significance cannot be made out at present.



Copper coin of Somēśvara

Students of Hoysaḷa history know that Hoysaḷa king Sōmēśvra began taking more interest in the political events of the Tamil country and hence transferred his capital to Kaṇṇānūr. He spent most of his time in the Tamil country. He even built a Śiva temple called *Poysaḷīśvara*. His two sons Narasimha III and Rāmanātha were always at war and hence he divided his kingdom into two parts. Narasimha was placed in charge of Haḷēbiḍ and Rāmanātha was with his father at Kaṇṇānūr. He even established a mint at his capital Kaṇṇānūr. As his southern kingdom mostly comprised of Tamil districts, he also issued many Tamil inscriptions. Likewise he minted this coin with legend in Tamil so that his Tamil subjects could understand the legend. He did not use his name Sōmēśvara but used the more grandiose title

Posaļēśvara.. Thus this coin is a good testimony to Hoysaļa Sōmēśvara's power in Tamilnadu. The three arched structure on the obverse of this coin may symbolise a Hoysaļa temple of the *trikūṭa* type. As Rāmanātha was a weak ruler, he could not have been the issuer of this coin and hence it is rightly ascribed to Sōmēśvara.

Coin of Narasimha III

This gold coin measuring 0.32", weighs 6.3 grains. It has a lion with a curved line on the top in the obverse. The reverse shows a four armed Durgā wearing *kirīṭa*, bracelets and anklets and holding a discus in the right hand and a conch in the left. By the weight of this coin it becomes clear that it is also a *paṇa* as it is one tenth of the *varaha.* Krishna simply ascribes this to Narasimha III without giving any reasons or evidence therefor.[45] It has to be said that this attribution is highly doubtful.

There is also another gold coin of 0.15". in size and weighing 1.1. grains. The obverse shows a lion with a curved line on the top. The reverse depicts a dancing Durgā. This coin also has been ascribed to Narasimha III.[46] But the point of interest here is the weight of the coin. If this coin is taken to have weighed 1.5 grains originally this becomes one fourth of the coin described above. In that case this is an example of a quarter *haṇa* or one *hāga,* of the Hoysaļa period.

Coins of Ballāļa III

As already discussed above, majority of the *Vīrarāyi-haṇas* have been taken to be the issues of Vīraballāļa III.[47] These coins are to be seen in gold, silver and copper. One of the gold coins of this type measures 0.32" and weighs 6.3 grains. On the obverse is a lion to the right. Its body including the neck and the tail is represented by curved lines. But the face and forelegs are indicated by pellets. The reverse shows a boar to the right with curled up tail. The legs are represented by three dots.

All these coins described above are highly doubtful as regards the attribution to a particular Hoysaļa king is concerned. All that we can state is that they may belong to the Hoysaḷa dynasty. Only further discovery of new hoards may confirm the attribution of these coins.

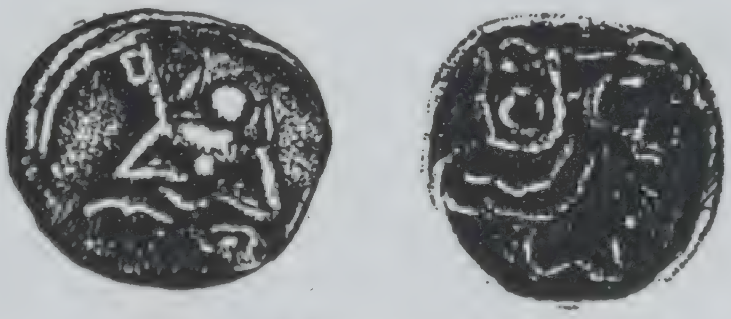
Before closing this account of the Hoysaḷa coins, a coin of Rāmānujāchārya is described here because it is a unique issue and the association of this saint with the Hoysaḷas in general and Vishṇuvardhana in particular. This coin has been discovered by A. Seetharaman in the river bed of South Pennar at Tirukkoyilur in South Arcot district.[48] This is a copper coin. It is circular; weight 31 grains.

obv: Rāmānujāchārya seated in *padmāsana;* on his right shoulder rests a *daṇḍa* to which is tied a cloth banner; hands are held in *anjali mudrā; prabhāvaḷi* is seen at the back of the head. The face is worn out.

rev: Two line Kannaḍa legend

Śrī Pa
ṭṭaṇa

The legend is written in a peculiar way. It also does not show the elegance of Hoysala script. However, the portrait of Rāmānujāchārya on the obverse is very beautiful and elegant though the face is worn out.



Coin of Rāmanujāchārya

The portrait on the obverse is highly characteristic of the sculptures of Rāmānuja found in many temples both in stone and bronze, in Tamilnadu and Karnataka. Though the coin is found in Tamilnadu, the Kannaḍa legend is very interesting and shows its connection with Karnataka. Śrīpaṭṭaṇa has been identified as Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa near

Toṇṇūr and Melkoṭe where Rāmānuja stayed for sometime after his flight from Tamilnadu. Thus it is a rare commemorative coin.

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CHAPTER XII

COINS OF THE SĒVUNAS OF DĒVAGIRI

The Sēvuṇas (Sēuṇas) of Devagiri, popularly known as the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, played an important role in the history of ancient Deccan. Recent researches have shown that the Sēvuṇas were a Kannaḍa speaking people and contributed greatly to the development of Karnataka history and culture.[1] The Sēvuṇas began their career as the feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and changed over to the side of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and remained as their feudatory for sometime. But when the opportunity arose, they became independent of the Chālukyas and established themselves as a paramount power. They waged constant wars against the Hoysalas, the Kākatīyas and made repeated incursions into Malwa. They enjoyed a wide empire until they were completely defeated by the Muslims in about 1325 A.D. Thus starting from about 1000 A.D., they held sway over northern parts of Karnataka and parts of Maharashtra for over three hundred years.

Over six hundred inscriptions of this dynasty have been discovered so far which give a good glimpse into their political and cultural history. Literary works in Kannaḍa, Sanskrit and Marāṭhi also are useful to understand their cultural history including their coinage. Thakkura Pherū, a mint master of Ala-ud-din also throws some light on their coinage. Though many kings of this dynasty are known, the following kings become important from the numismatic point of view as the coins of these kings alone have been discovered so far.[2] They are Bhillama V (1173-1182 A.D.), Singhaṇa (1200-1247 A.D.), Krishṇa (1247-1261 A.D.), Mahādeva (1261-1270 A.D.), Āmaṇa (1270-1271 A.D.) and Rāmachandra (1271-1312 A.D.).

The Sēvuṇas minted coins in gold, silver and copper, though many copper coins have not been discovered so far. The Sēvuṇa gold coins belong to the *padmaṭanka* type and contain a central big punch of a lotus surrounded by some symbols and the legend representing the name of the king in Nāgari. But recent discoveries of silver coins of this dynasty have shown that they also minted die-struck coins with clear obverse and reverse. While the gold coins belong to the *padmaṭanka* variety with blank reverse, the silver coins are die-struck with symbols on the reverse also. This is an interesting feature of their coinage.

The Sēvuṇa inscriptions and some literary works of the period mention the names of the coins that were in circulation during the period. They are *Nishka, Dramma, Gadyāṇa, Hon, Suvarṇa, Paṇa, Chavula, Kākinī, Hāga, Ṭanka, Bēḷe, Vīsa, Arevīsa* and *Acchu.*

The most popular coin of this period was *gadyāṇa,* a gold coin. It was also referred to as *Nishka* and *Suvarṇa.* The coin *Varaha* does not seem to have become popular during the period. Varieties of *gadyāṇa* that were in use during the period are mentioned in the inscriptions. That naming the coins after their mints continued during this period also is attested by *Lokki gadyāṇa.* Similarly *Ambili gadyāṇa* was a coin minted at Ambili.[3] The exact connotation of the term *Rāya gadyāṇa* is not known.[4] The Pulunja inscription of Singhaṇa mentions *Gajamalla gadyāṇa.*[5] Obviously the former word relates to a title the king had. In that case it would be worthwhile to find out if such a coin contained either the legend *Gajamalla* or an elephant. However, such a coin has not been found so far. The term *Priya śrāhi gadyāṇa* obviously denotes a current coin as the word *śrāhi* means, 'current'.[6] This is just to denote that the coin in question is a current coin and not an old coin, even though the latter was used in transactions. The exact meaning of the term *Pange gadyāṇa* is not known.[7]

The word *nishka* is rarely used in later inscriptions as a gold coin and obviously it was equal to the *gadyāṇa* in this period. The Behatti inscription of Krishṇa mentions a grant for an agrahāra the assessment of which was 400 *nishkas.*[8] In this connection it is worth noting that the famous work *Līlāvati* of Bhāskarāchārya refers to *nishka* as a gold coin and it was equal to sixteen silver coins known as *drammas.*[9]

Dramma as a silver coin is found mentioned very often in the Sēvuṇa epigraphs.[10] Obviously the word is derived from the Greek *drachma*. An inscription of a Śilāhāra chief who was a feudatory of the Sēvuṇas refers to *Poruttha dramma*,[11] the meaning of which is a matter of debate among numismatists.

Rūka was another silver coin of this period. It is mentioned in the Paṇḍhrapur inscription of Rāmachandra dated 1276, among the gifts to the temple of Viṭhala.[12] The Mahānubhāva work *Smṛithisthala* also refers to this coin.[13] The word *rūka* in the meaning of a silver coin is found frequently in the inscriptions of Andhra during the period. It is generally taken to be a silver coin of the value of a *rūpyaka* or a *rupee*, though its exact connotation is not known. In this connection we may refer to *Kṛishṇarāja rūpaka*, a coin of the Kalachuri king.

Paṇa or *haṇa* was another coin of the period. From the context and the value of this coin, it may be suggested as a copper coin. The Pulunja inscription of Singhaṇa mentions *paṇa* and *hāga* and also their relative value.[14] One *paṇa* was equal to four *hāgas*. According to Bhāskarāchārya one *dramma* was equal to sixteen *paṇas*.

Many Mahānubhāva works refer to a coin known as *āsu*. Obviously it is the Marathi equivalent of *acchu* which is a popular coin in South India. According to *Līlācharita*, Sēvuṇa king Krishṇa offered *āsus* to Chakradhara which was rejected by the latter.[15] The Patan inscription and the Ambe inscription mention *āsu* as a coin.[16] Mahānubhāva literature also mentions a number of coins such as *Kāsu, Kavadā, Dāma, Chinchorā, Pofali* and *Aḍḍa*. Their exact significance is not known.

The opinion of P.M. Joshi that *āsu* is a small and insignificant coin which was used in ordinary day-to-day transactions is not correct because Thakkūra Pherū refers to *Hemācchu* meaning gold coin.[17] *Acchu* is the name of a coin and it is possible that it was made of gold as well as copper.

It is very interesting to find the mention of *Chāma* in the sense of a leather coin, as suggested in *Jnānēśvari*.[18] It is not known if this was a leather coin actually in circulation or a metaphorical way of representing the royal authority, as Jnānēśvara was always fond of metaphors.

That the practice of allowing the agents to mint coins on behalf of the government continued during this period also is proved by the term *ṭanke* which is taken as a tax on minting.[19] Similarly the word *mudre* has been taken as a tax on those who were permitted to own the royal die which was used in minting the coins.[20] The contemporary people referred to the coins also by the names of their issuer such as *Singhānī, Mahādevī,* etc.[21]

Taking all these evidences into consideration the coins and their relative value during the period may be stated as follows:

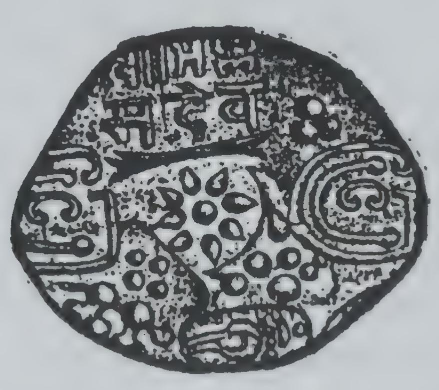
1 *gadyāṇa* = 1 *Nishka* = 1 *Suvarṇa*
1 *gadyāṇa* = 16 *drammas*
1 *gadyāṇa* = 10 *paṇas*
1 *paṇa* = 4 *hāga*
1 *hāga* = 5 *vīsa*
1 *vīsa* = 2 *bēḷe*

The Sēvuṇa coins have been discovered in a wide area. Andhra Pradesh has yielded a good number of coins coming from Karimnagar, Medak, Mahboobnagar, and Krishna Districts.[22] Of the coins found in Andhra Pradesh, the Rāchapaṭṇam hoard of Sēvuṇa coins in Krishna District is very important from many points of view. Perhaps, this was the earliest (1922) discovery of Sēvuṇa coins and the credit for this should go to Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar. He prepared a note on these 43 coins and published them in *Numismatic supplement*.[23] Sēvuṇa coins were subsequently reported from other places in Maharashtra.[24] Orissa,[25] Chattisgarh[26] and Madhya Pradesh.[27] Though coins are extremely migratory, Sēvuṇa coins have been taken to represent the territorial claims of these rulers.

Coins of Bhillama V

The gold coin of this ruler was first noticed in the Devalajhari hoard in 1966. This place is located in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra.[28] The hoard contained 124 gold coins. M.G. Dikshit who published these coins has assigned them to Bhillama IV.[29] But this is wrong. The present writer has shown that the issuer of these coins was Bhillama V who ruled from 1173 to1192 A.D. and was the first paramount ruler of this dynasty.[30] This coin may be described now.

This coin is almost similar to the coin of the other rulers of the dynasty. The central punch contains an eight petalled lotus and by its side are seen sun and moon. Above the lotus, on the top is the legend in two lines of Nāgari *Śrī Bhillamadēva.* On either side of the lotus are seen two conventional *Śrī* in Kannaḍa. Right below the lotus is seen a conch with certain minor symbols. Between the conch and the letter *Śrī,* there are some symbols the significance of which is not clear. Between the legend and the letter *Śrī,* there are three dots. In most of the coins in the Devalajhari hoard, the upper portion of the first line of the legend is off the flan of the coin but there is no difficultly in reconstructing the letters. The diameter of these coins varies from 0.62" to 0.7". Their weight ranges from 57 to 58 grains. Many varieties of lotus punch and the other symbols are found with regard to this typology. In many instances, the symbols are out of the flan.



Coin of Bhillama V

The credit of identifying and publishing silver coins of the Sēvuṇas goes to Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri.[31] This includes a silver coin of Bhilama V also. Later Dr. Sobhana Gokhale also published some Yādava silver coins.[32]

This is a silver circular coin; diameter 0.92 cm; weight 0.90 gm.[33]

obv. : Two line Nāgạri legend
Śrī Bhilla
madēva

rev: A lion standing to left; the lion is shown by dots of different sizes.

This coin is different from the gold coin of the same king in many ways. Firstly this has a reverse; the legend on the obverse practically covers the entire flan of the coin. The presence of lion on this coin deserves special mention. This shows that they minted coins with lion, which was quite popular with the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, originally the overlords of Bhillama V. Taking all the silver coins into consideration, it may be possible to group them according to their weights.[34] In that case a *māshaka* may be taken as equal to 0.90 gm.

Double *māshaka (dvimāshaka)* = 1.80 gm.
Fractional $(1^{2}/_{3})$ *māshaka* = 1.50 gm.
Single *māshaka* = 0.90 gm.
Three fourth *māshaka* = 0.66 gm.
Half *māshaka (ardha)* = 0.46 gm.
Quarter *māshaka (pāda)* = 0.23 gm.
One fifth *māshaka* = 0.17 gm.
One tenth *māshaka* = 0.09 gm.

Thus we have enough denominations of the Sēvuṇa silver coins by the discovery of their silver coins in different weights by A.M. Shastri, Sobhana Gokhale and Mohanty.

Equally important in the above study is the presence of a copper coin of Bhillama V.[35] The coin shows traces of silver plating on both the sides, which is interesting. It is a circular copper coin measuring 0.5 x 0.8 cm; weight 1.2 gm.

obv. : Two line Nāgari legend
Śrī Bhilla
madēva
rev.: A lion to the right

Thus Bhillama V issued coins in gold, silver and copper.

Coins of Singhaṇa II

Singhaṇa, the greatest ruler of this dynasty is known to have issued coins in gold, silver and copper though his copper coins have not been found so far.

Type A: This coin from the Sonepur treasury[36] contains on the obverse eight petalled lotus in the centre; below it is a conch; above is a two pronged spear; over it is seen the legend *Singhaṇa* in Nāgari script. The symbols on the right and left are not complete. The left symbol looks like *Śrī* and the symbol to the right appears like *chakra.* The weight of this coin is 57 grains and diameter 0.6". Its reverse is blank.

Type B: In this specimen found in the village Parasidh in Raigarh of Madhya Pradesh,[37] some minor variations are seen. Below the name of the king is an object which looks like a sword in a sheath. There are two dots attached to the sword probably, intended to indicate the handle of the sword or the loop of the sheath.

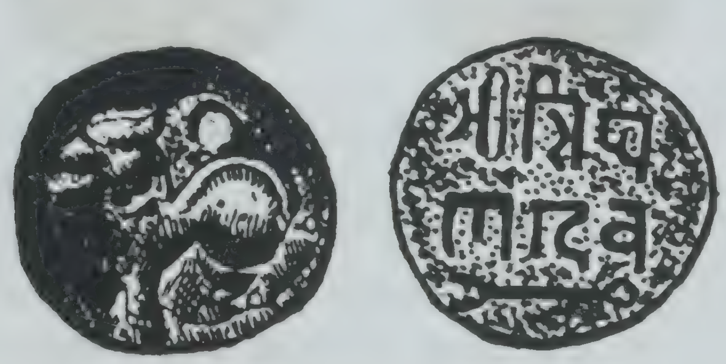
Type C: The same hoard from Parasidh also contained a similar coin of Singhaṇa.[38] But in this case below the legend is seen a bow instead of a sword. Other symbols are the same.

His silver coins are of a different type.[39] They are circular; diameter 0.8 cm; weight: ranging from 80 to 90 gm; they are *māshaka* coins.

obv.: Two lined Nāgari legend
Śrī Singha
ṇadēva

rev.: lion to left/right with tail raised

The coin described by Sobhana Gokhale shows the legend in full whereas the coin described by A.M. Shastri has only *Śrī Singhaṇa.* Thus both may be taken as different varieties.



Silver coin of Singhaṇa

Coins of Krishṇa (Kannara or Kanhapa)

Gold coins of Krishṇa are similar to those of Bhillama V. They are circular; diameter 0.6", weight 56 grains.

obv.: lotus in the centre; *Śrī* to left and right; above the lotus is the Nāgari legend *Kanhapa,* simply *Kanha* or merely *Ka.*; below is a conch and some dots. Some specimens do not have the conch.

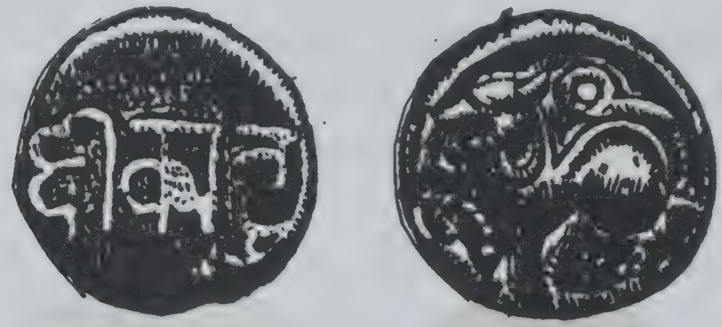
rev.: blank

The silver coin of this ruler is similar to the coin of Singhaṇa described above.[40] Circular; diameter, 0.8 cms; weight 0.92 gm.

obv.: Two line Nāgari legend
Śri Kanha
radēva

rev.: A lion to left; right forepaw raised up and curled up tail; gaping mouth.

Though the second line of the legend is not seen here, A.M. Shastri opines that there are traces of the legend which should be read as *radeva.*



Silver coin of Krishṇa

From the weight it becomes clear that this is a *māshka* silver coin.

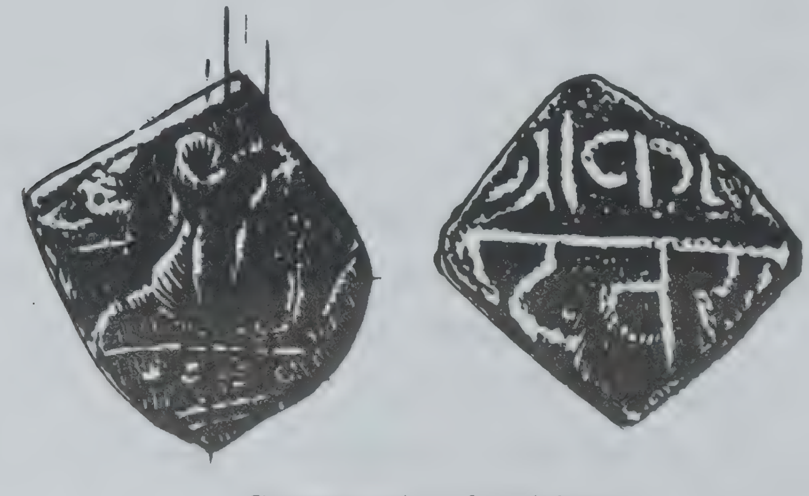
A copper coin of Krishṇa has been identified by P.V. Radhakrishna.[41] It is silver quoted and was in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Bombay. It is rectangular in shape, and differs from the other coins of this dynasty. It measures 0.7" x 0.6" and weighs 50 grains.

obv: Two line Nāgari legend

Śri Kana

ra dēvasa

rev: Lion to the left.



Copper coin of Krishṇa

The last letter *'sa'* is interesting as no other coin of this dynasty has shown that letter.

A reference has been made to the coins of Bhor State treasury having the legend *Lakshumā* which some scholars have identified as the issues of queen of Vikramāditya VI. But recently Dr. Chandrashekar Gupta has re-examined this problem and has attributed these coins to Krishṇa's queen Lakshmi.[42] Majority of the coins of the Bhor treasury belong to the Sēvuṇa dynasty and the coin with the legend Lakshumā or Lashumā should also belong to this type. More important is the fact that Sēvuṇa Krishṇa had a queen Lakshmī. It is well known that the accession of Mahādēva to the throne was not peaceful. After the death of Krishṇa, his queen Lakshmī must have taken the reigns of the kingdom into her own hands and to proclaim this fact she must have minted these coins. This is confirmed by an incomplete copper plate inscription of Sēvuṇa king Rāmachandra found at the Eknāth Samśōdhan Mandir at Aurangabad. In this inscription king Rāmachandra is described as the son of Krishṇa and Lakshmī. This proves beyond doubt that Lakshmī was the name of the queen of Krishṇa. Taking all these evidences into consideration Chandrashekhar Gupta ascribes these coins to Sēvuṇa queen Lakshmī, which seems to be plausible.

Coins of Mahādēva

The gold coins of Mahādēva belong to the usual type. They are circular, diameter 0.7"; weight 58 grains.

Type A:

obv: Central punch of eight petalled lotus; *Śrī* in Nāgari on both sides; below a conch and some dots; Nāgari legend in two lines:

Śrī Ma
hādēva

In some specimens the name appears as *Mahāde* or *Mahā* in Nāgari

rev: Blank.

Type B: These are the coins found in the Rāchapaṭṇam hoard.[43]

obv: Central lotus punch with volute to left; *Śrī* on both sides; Nāgari legend *Mahādēva* on top; boar at the bottom; some specimens have *śankha* also.

rev : Blank

Type C: The silver coin of this ruler is similar to gold type B described above.[44] This is a circular silver coin; diameter 0.9 cm; weight 0.95 gm.

obv: Nāgari legend in two lines

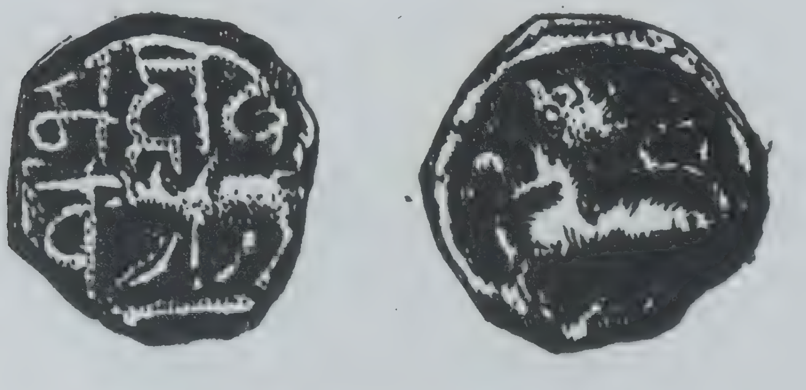
Mahādē

va

to the right is a boar

rev: Lion to left; gaping mouth; uplifted forepaw and the encircled tail.

This coin is very important from many points of view. This may throw light on the opinion of R.Subramanyam and M.Somasekhara Sharma regarding the fight between Mahadeva and Rudramadevi because of the presence of a boar on it.



Silver coin of Mahādēva

The presence of the boar on some of the gold and silver coins is an important point. This has been discussed in the sequel. It is quite likely that Mahādēva minted the boar which was the royal insignia of the Kākatīyas as symbolic of the victory over Kākatīya Rudramadēvi. It is also possible that boar being a Vaishṇava symbol and the Sēvuṇas being born in the Vishṇuvaṁśa, should have used boar as a mark of respect to Varāhāvatāra of Vishṇu. However, both these explanations are to be taken as tentative. No other Sēvuṇa ruler used boar on his coin. This is significant and hence the first explanation seems more plausible.

Type D: In this connection, two coins discovered by Mangalam become more meaningful.[44A] It is oval in shape; weight 3.8 gms.

obv: eight petalled lotus; legend *Mahādēva* in Nāgari above; *Śrī* on either side of the lotus; boar with erect head at the bottom left and conch shell at the bottom right.

rev: Blank.

Type E: Another type is similar to the above coin but has elephant instead of the boar. It is circular in shape; weight 3.8 gms; diameter 2.4 cms.

obv: Eight petalled lotus in the centre; a sword with an artistic handle placed beneath the Nāgari legend reading *Mahādēva;* on the left of the lotus is the letter *Śrī;* at the bottom left is an elephant to right and a conch shell at the bottom right.

rev: Blank.

Thus the first coin has a boar whereas the second coin has an elephant. The first one should be taken to represent Vaishṇavism and the second is symbolic of royalty.

Coin of Āmaṇadēva

It was believed by earlier historians that Āmaṇadēva did not rule at all; and Mahādēva was succeeded by Rāmachandra. But the recent researches have shown that Mahādēva was succeeded by his son

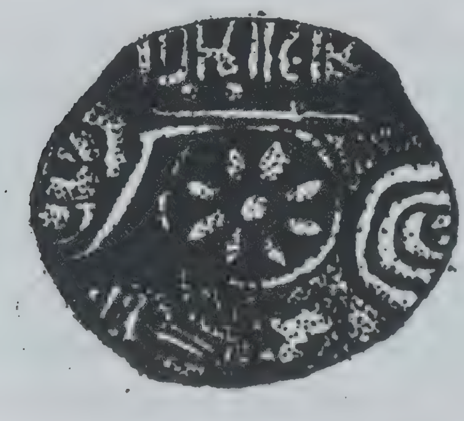
Āmaṇadēva in the latter part of 1270 A.D. However, no inscription of this Āmaṇadēva has been discovered so far. Krishṇa's son Rāmachandra who was the rightful claimant to the Sēvuṇa throne opposed the usurpation of the power by Āmaṇa and staged a *coup* against Āmaṇa and defeated him and killed him. This is mentioned by the Mahānubhāva works. Thus Āmaṇadēva ruled for a very short period of less than a year in 1270-71 A.D. During this short period, he minted coins in his name though no inscription in his name has been discovered so far. This important coin of Āmaṇadeva discovered by Ajay Mitra Shastri clinches the issue of the succession of Āmaṇadēva after the death of his father Mahādēva.[45]

This is a gold coin of the *padmaṭanka* variety and is similar to the gold coins of the other rulers of this dynasty. It is circular and cup-shaped; diameter 0.6"; weight 59 grains.

obv: Eight petalled lotus in the centre; *Śrī* on either side; below a conch and a lion; at the top is a one-line legend in Nāgari reading *Śrī Āmaṇa* and a sword below the legend.

rev: Blank.

This is a very elegant coin of the *padmaṭanka* variety with a prominent central punch of an eight petalled lotus. It is also similar to the *padmaṭankas* of Bhillama described above. But the legend here is in a single line



Coin of Āmaṇadēva

Coins of Rāmachandra

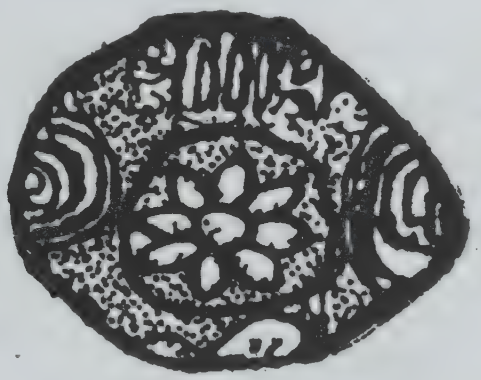
Gold and silver coins of this ruler have come to light.

Type A: This is a gold coin; circular; diameter 0.6"; weight 58 grains.

obv: Eight petalled central punch of a lotus; *Śrī* on either side; Nāgari legend *Śrī Rāma* or simply *Rāma* above.

rev: Blank

This is practically similar to the *padmaṭankas* of other rulers described above. This uniformity which is generally not seen has to be specially taken into consideration.



Coin of Rāmachandra

Type B: P.L. Gupta has described a coin of this ruler which is quite different from the general pattern of the Sēvuṇa gold coins.[46]

obv: The central punch of a Garuḍa; above is the Nāgari legend *Rāmacha; Śrī* on either side with some dots below.

This is the only Sēvuṇa coin which has a Garuḍa instead of a lotus as the central punch. As Garuḍa is known to be the *lānchana* of the Sēvuṇas, there is no difficulty in accepting this as a Sēvuṇa coin. Now we may describe the silver coins of this ruler.[47]

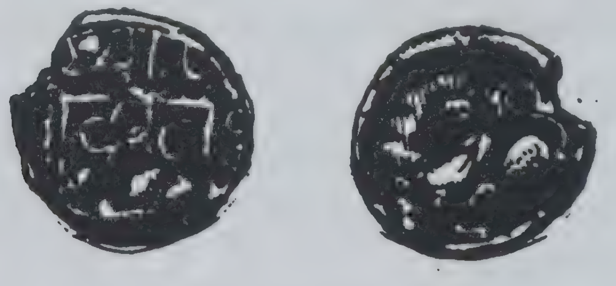
Type A: Circular, diameter 0.8 cm; weight 0.65 gm.

obv: Two line Nāgari legend

Śrī Rā
madēvaḥ

rev: Lion standing to right within a border of dots.

Though the epigraphs generally refer to this king as Rāmachandra, Muslim chroniclers refer to him as Ramdeo (Rāmadēva). But the coins have both the forms on them.



Coin of Rāmachandra

Type B: This is also a circular coin; diameter 0.9 cm; weight, 0.45 gms. From the point of view of technique this coin is said to have been finely cut from a thin sheet of silver.[48]

obv: Within a square border two line legend in Nāgari.

Śrī Rā
madē(va)

rev: Lion to right.

Square border on the obverse is a new feature not known so far.

Type C: This is also a circular coin; diameter 0.6 cm; weight 0.9 gm.[49]

obv: Two line Nāgarī legend

Sri Rama
dēva

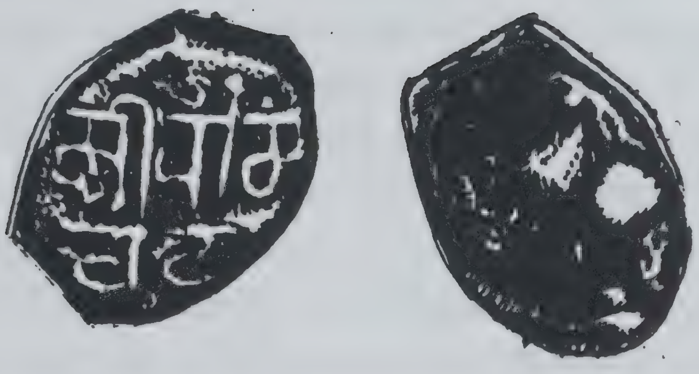
rev: Lion standing to left.

Type D: A.M. Shastri has brought to light other type of silver coins of Rāmachandra.[50] This is oval in shape; diameter 0.6 x 0.9 cm.; weight 0.90 gm.

obv: Two line Nāgari legend

Śrī Rāma
chandra

rev: Lion to left.



Silver coin of Rāmachandra

Type E: This is a circular coin; diameter 0.6 cms.; weight 0.17 gm.[51]

obv: Two line Nāgari legend

Śrī Rāma

dēvaḥ

rev: Lion to the left.

This coin is important from two points of view. The first one is that it is the lowest known silver coin in weight. It may correspond to the sixth of a *māshaka,* as its weight is 0.17 gms. Secondly the *visarga* at the end of the name is equally interesting. Copper coins of this ruler have not been found so far.

As Sēvuṇa coins have been discovered from different areas, territorial claims have been made on this basis. As we have already remarked, the presence of a large number of coins of the Sēvuṇa rulers, particularly those of Mahādēva, has induced certain scholars to lay Sēvuṇa territorial claims in Andhra area. S.R. Iyengar thought that the Yādava rule extended to Andhra area on the basis of the Rāchapaṭṇam hoard.[52] But N.Venkataramanayya and M. Somasekhara Sharma tried to attach some other significance to these Sēvuṇa coins found in Andhra area.[53] We know that the Sēvuṇas and the Kākatīyas were at war throughout their history. The conflict which is important to the present discussion is the war between Sēvuṇa Mahādēva and Kākatīya queen Rudramadēvi. Hēmādri, the famous minister and the author of the work *Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi* wants us to believe that in the struggle between the two, Mahādēva was victorious.[54] This is confirmed by many contemporary Sēvuṇa inscriptions. But *Siddhēśvaracharitramu,* a late Telugu work gives a different account.[55] This work was written by Kase Sarvappa to glorify the Kākatīya dynasty and hence this is highly unreliable from historical point of view. While describing the exploits of Rudramadēvi, the work states that she chased the Sēvuṇa army up to Dēvagiri and destroyed three lakh infantry and one lakh cavalry. The Sēvuṇa king Mahādēva made peace with Rudramadēvi by paying gold coins as war indemnity.[56] It is strange that not a single inscription of Rudramadēvi mentions her victory over Mahādēva. If it had taken place as described in *Siddhēśvaracharitramu,* the contemporary inscriptions would not have missed such a brilliant achievement as this. This very silence of the contemporary inscriptions itself is an eloquent refutation of the story as given in the work *Siddhēśvaracharitramu.*

But the two scholars cited above believe that the traditional account of the Telugu work embodies substantial elements of truth. They argue that the Rāchapaṭṇam hoard of Sēvuṇa coins formed a part of the gold coins Mahādēva paid to Rudramadēvi as war indemnity, thus confirming the account as given in the *Siddhēśvaracharitramu.* But the very presence of the coins of Rāmachandra, the successor of Mahādēva in the Rāchapaṭṇam hoard proves beyond doubt that these coins migrated to Andhra country either during or after the time of Rāmachandra and not earlier. Hence these coins could not have formed war indemnity paid by Sēvuṇa Mahādēva to Rudramadēvi. So the Rāchapaṭṇam hoard of Sēvuṇa coins should be considered as a stray find without any significance regarding the claim of the Kākatīyas over the Sēvuṇas or that of the Sēvuṇas over the Kākatīyas.

But R.Subramanyam who recently compiled a catalogue of the Yādava coins in the Andhra Pradesh State Museum at Hyderabad supported the arguments of Dr. Veṇkataramanayya.[57] He recognised the presence of the coins of Rāmachandra in the Rāchapaṭṇam hoard. But he dismissed them as unimportant and states "It is quite likely that they ought to have found their way through some soldiers who accompanied Malik Kafur during the Muslim expansion and perhaps formed part of gold paid by Rāma to Ala-ud-din as indemnity."[58] This explanation is not satisfactory. He also supported his argument by the presence of the emblem of a boar on two coins of Mahādēva in the hoard. Of the many coins of Mahādēva, no coin has shown the symbol of boar on it. Even in this case only two coins are believed to contain a punch of what looks like a boar. As we have already remarked in almost all the Sēvuṇa coins, there are many minor symbols including dots in the interspaces and it becomes difficult to say what they mean. In some coins of Bhillama V also these dots and lines look like a boar. In some coins of Singhaṇa they look like elephant.

Hence, we are not sure and cannot take the symbol as a boar unless more number of specimens are examined.

Sēvuṇa coins discovered in Chattisgarh area have also been taken to mean the rule of the Sēvuṇas in that area by Altekar[59] and B.B. Nath.[60] Hēmādri describes Singhaṇa II as having defeated and deprived Kakkula of his sovereignty.[61] The Tiḷivaḷḷi inscription of Singhaṇa states that this Kakkula was the king of Varāṭadēśa.[62] Altekar identified this Varāṭadēśa with some place in Vidarbha and the king Kakkula as the king of Tripuri.[63] But this identification is not tenable because Kakkula of Tripuri flourished atleast two centuries before Singhaṇa. However, there was one Kakala ruling in or near Shimoga in Mysore State during this period. This is known from an inscription at Uddari in Shimoga district.[64] Hence, this king Kakkula must have been nearer home and not from far away Tripuri.

Singhaṇa is also credited with a victory over Jajjala.[65] Altekar identified this king as one ruling in Chattisgarh.[66] Altėkar argued mainly on the basis of similarity of names. There was a king Jajjala ruling in Chattisgarh. But even the second or later Jajjala had preceded Singhaṇa II by many decades. Hence he can not be the ruler defeated by Singhaṇa. There was one Jajjala described as the ruler of Śrīranga, the modern Śrīrangapaṭṇa, on the banks of the river Kāvēri.[67] Singhaṇa's own record is found at Yelawāla, four miles from Śrīrangapaṭṇa. Singhaṇa's general Vīchaṇa is stated to have erected a column of victory on the banks of Kāvēri. Hence, Jajjala must have been the ruler of Śrīrangapaṭṇa rather than his namesake in Chattisgarh.

When these two kings are identified within Karnataka itself, all that remains to show the Sēvuṇa rule over Chattisgarh are the coins discovered there. The stray coins cannot be taken as any indication of territorial claim because, coins are extremely migratory. Hence, the coins of the Sēvuṇas described by Altekar and Nath should be taken as stray coins until we get stronger epigraphic evidences to prove that.

A gold coin almost similar to the Sēvuṇa coins and bearing the legend *Śrī Lakshmi* in the fifth punch, has been assigned by P.L.Gupta, to Lakshmīdeva the Ābhīra chief of Bhambhagiri and a contemporary of Sēvuṇa Singhaṇa. But we have discussed this coin under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa as it is likely that this coin may be that of Lakshmīdēvi, the queen of Vikramāditya VI.

However, Chandrasekhara Gupta has attributed this coin to Sēvuṇa queen Lakshmīdēvi, wife of king Krishṇa.[68] An incomplete copper plate from Aurangabad belonging to king Rāmachandra makes it clear that Krishṇa had a queen by name Lakshmī and Rāmachandra was their son. It is well known that Rāmachandra's accession to the Sēvuṇa throne was not peaceful. It is likely that Krishṇa's queen Lakshmī might have ruled for a short period during the troubled times of succession. Hence she should have issued these coins in her own name. Typologically these are similar to Sēvuṇa coins. It is also said that Lakshmī becomes Lakshumā in Marāṭhi. Thus these coins have been attributed to Sēvuṇa queen Lakshmī. Thus we have two claimants to these coins; Chālukya Vikramāditya's queen and Sēvuṇa Krishṇa's queen. Future discoveries alone may solve this problem.[69]

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2. This chronology is taken from A.V. Narasimha Murthy: *The Sēvuṇas of Devagiri.*
3. *SMHD,* II, p. 62.
4. *EC.,* VIII, Sb. 272.
5. *SMHD,* II, p. 62.
6. *Ibid.* For a detailed discussion on old and new coins, see A.V. Narasimha Murthy: *Studies in Karnataka Numismatics,* p. 205-10.
7. *SMHD,* IV, p. 38.
8. *JBBRAS,* XII, p. 49.
9. *JNSI,* Vol. 2, p. 9.
10. *IA,* XII, p. 128, *Pramakole,* No. 34.
11. *EI,* XIII, p. 279.
12. *Pramakole,* No. 34.
13. *Smrithisthala,* No. 110.
14. *SMHD,* II, p. 63.
15. *Līlācharita,* ēkānta, No. 41, 58, *Pūrvārdha,* No. 66, 54, 185, 187, 204, *Uttarārdha,* No. 188.
16. *Pramakole,* Nos. 21 and 23.
17. *ND,* IV, i, p. 31.
18. *Jnānēśvari,* Chapter IX, p. 449. 19. *EI,* XXI, p. 12.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *ND,* IV, i, p. 37.
22. R Subramanyam, *A Catalogue of Yādava Coins in the Andhra Pradesh State Museum.*
23. *Numismatic Supplement,* 34, article 250.
24. Maldunge near Panvel in 1943; Kalamb in 1950-51; Devaljhari in 1966.
25. *JNSI,* 14, p. 92; XVII, p. 58.
26. *Ibid.,* 13, p. 148.
27. *Ibid.,* 27, p. 214.
28. *Ibid.,* 30, ii, p. 46.
29. *Ibid.,* p. 48.
30. A.V.Narasimha Murthy: A note of the Padmaṭankas of Yādava Bhillama, in *JNSI,* 30, p. 46.

31. *ND,* IV, i, 29-45; XIV, p. 37-42.

32. *JNSI,* 45, p. 59.

33. *Ibid.,* p. 38.

34. *Ibid.,* p. 35; 45, p. 59 and 55, p. 70-72.

35. *Ibid.,* p. 45.

36. *JNSI,* 15, p. 126.

37. *Ibid.,* 8, p. 147.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *ND,* IV, i, No. 2, 3 and 4.

40. *Ibid.,* XIV, p. 37.

41. Chandrashekar Gupta: Padmaṭankas of queen Lakshmī and its attribution (presented at the NSI Conference) (in press). The inscription quoted by him is published in Sodha-mudra, 1976, pp. 80-81 by A.M. Shiralikar.

42. Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Newsline, Issue 6 (April 1995), p. 5.

43. Subramanyam, *op.cit.,* p. 22.

44. *ND,* XIV, p. 38.

44A. *JNSI* (in press).

45. *ND,* XIV, p. 34-36.

46. Gupta, P.L., *Coins,* p. 75.

47. *ND,* No. IV, i. p. 40.

48. *Ibid.,* p. 45.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.,* XIV, p. 40.

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Numismatic Supplement,* No. 34 and *EI,* XXIII, p. 193.

53. Yazdani (Ed.): *EHD,* p. 627.

54. Bhandarkar: *Early History of the Dekhan,* Appendix C.

55. Lakshmiranjanam (Ed.), Hyderabad edition.

56. *Ibid.,* p. 134.

57. Subramanyam, R., *op.cit.*

58. *Ibid.,* p. 11.

59. *JNSI,* 8, p. 147,
60. *Ibid.,* 15, p. 126.
61. Bhandarkar, *op.cit.*
62. *Karnāṭaka Sāhitya Parishat Patrike,* 28, p. 1.
63. *JNSI,* 8, p. 147.
64. *MAR,* 1929, p. 142.
65. *Ka. Sā. Pa. Pa.*
66. *JNSI,* 8, p. 147.
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68. *JNSI* (in press)
69. Recently a silver coin with Nāgari legend *Sēuṇadēva* has been discovered. This was presented at the Seventh Annual Conference of the South Indian Numismatic Society held at Trissur in February 1997 by the present writer and Anand Kumbhar. This Sēuṇadēva in the feudatory chief under Chālukya Vikramāditya VI and father of Mallugi.

CHAPTER XIII

COINS OF THE KADAMBAS OF GOA AND HĀNGAL

The Kadambas of Goa, one of the minor dynasties of Karnataka played a dominant role in the history of Karnataka. They ruled for about three centuries from the end of the 10th Century to the last quarter of the 13th Century A.D. in the area of Goa. Their main domain of political activity was in the provinces of Konkaṇa 900 and Palasige 12000. Though they are styled *"Banavāsi puravarādhīśvara"* in their inscriptions, *"Śrī Malege Bhairava"* and *"Malavara Māri"* appear on their coins very frequently. As they defeated the Māḷavas, the people of the *ghats,* they assumed these titles and consequently they incorporated them in their seals and coins. Their *lañchana* was the lion and all their coins contain the picture of a lion with one of its legs upraised. Their family God was Saptakōṭīśvara. The majority of their coins contain legends which connect them with this family God. They are referred to as "obtainers of the boon from Saptakōṭīśa." In fact, one of their coins shows a temple *gopura* and in all probability that may stand for the temple of this god.

Of the rulers of the Kadambas of Goa, Jayakēśi I (1050-78 A.D.), Jayakēśi II (1126-1147 A.D), Śivachitta Permāḍi (1147-87 A.D.), Jayakēśi III (1187- 1225-26 A.D.) and Tribhuvanamalla Sōyidēva (1226-27 to 1245-46 A.D) are important. The coins of all these rulers have been found so far in addition to the doubtful coins of Kāmadēva.

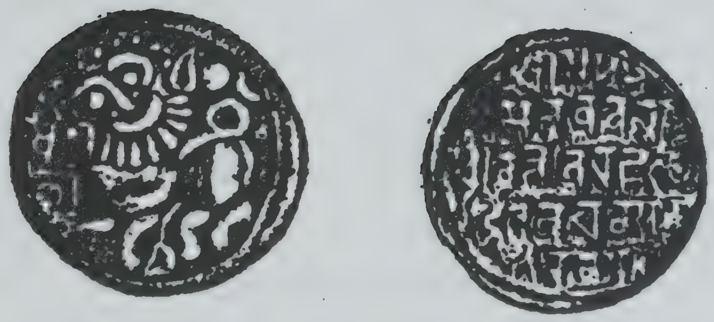
Explorations in and near Goa are sure to yield more coins of this dynasty. So far the coins of this dynasty have been reported occasionally and no systematic attempt has been made to study them together.

From the known coins, it appears that Jayakēśi I was the first to issue coins in his dynasty. It was he who defeated the Māḷavas and assumed the title *"Śrī Malege Bhairava"* and *"Malavara Māri".* This achievement of Jayakēśi I became so prominent that all the subsequent rulers of this dynasty also assumed this as part of their *praśasti.* Moraes has published a coin from the cabinet of the museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay.[1]

obv: A lion looking to the front before which is the word *Vijaya* in Nāgari.

rev: Within a circle of dots is a legend in five lines of Nāgari script.

Śrī Saptako
ṭīśa labdha vara
vīra Jayakēśi
dēva Malava
ra Māri.



Coin of Jayakēśi I

From the legend on the reverse of this coin, it becomes clear that this was issued by one of the Jayakēśis of the Kadambas of Goa. But it is difficult to say with certainty as to which Jayakēśi of the Kadamba family issued this coin. However, Moraes has ascribed this coin to Jayakēśi III though he does not give any particular reason for this. If *Vijaya* is taken as the cyclic year in which this coin was minted, that would give us some clue to fix the particular ruler. The cyclic year Vijaya in this context would correspond to 1053-54, 1113-14 and 1173-74 A.D. As we have already observed, this cyclic year would fall outside the reigns of both Jayakēśi II and Jayakēśi III. However, it falls within the reign of Jayakēśi I.[2] Hence this coin with the cyclic year *Vijaya* has to be attributed to Jayakēśi I and not to any other ruler. Jayakēśi I issued gold coins of another type which weigh 76.5 grains and measure 0.6". One of them has the following features.[3]

obv: Within a circle surrounded by radiating lines and dots is the picture of *Gajasimha.*

rev: Within a circle of dots and radiating lines, the Kadamba crest of *Triśūla* at the top and two-line legend.

Śrī Malege
bhairava.

In another coin of a similar type in the obverse is seen the usual Kadamba lion facing right with one of his front legs up raised. The reverse is the same as the above.

Though in both these coins the name of the king who issued them is not mentioned, with the help of certain other evidences we can determine the ruler who issued them. The palaeography of the legend would point to 11th Century A.D. as the date of the coin. The Panjim copper plates of Jayakēśi I dated 981 Śaka, contains a seal in which is seen the Kannaḍa title *'Śrī Malege Bhairava'*.[4] This makes it very clear that Jayakēśi I had the title *'Sri Malege Bhairava'* and the coin which bears this title should also be ascribed to him. The same copper plate refers to certain coins as *Bhairavas.*[5] It may be surmised that these are the coins which are referred to in the copper plate.

In the coin referred to above, there is the picture of *Gajasimha* instead of a lion. It has been suggested that it may be to commemorate the victory of Jayakēśi I over the Māḷavas, a tribe living in the hilly forests. In the entire Kadamba coin series this is the only coin where *Gajasimha* is found.

There are some more coins of a smaller denomination which have not been identified with certainty. Most of them weigh 45 grains and measure 0.45". They contain the following features:

Coin 1

obv: Lion to the left with a flag staff and a flowing banner in front.

rev: Within a dotted circle two-line Nāgari legend.

Śrī Malaha
ra māri

Coin 2

obv: Lion standing to the left in front of *Chatra* with staff.

rev: Same as above.

Coin 3

obv: Lion standing to the left in front of a temple with a tall *gopura.*

rev: Same as above.

Coin 4

obv: Lion standing to the left with an *Ankuśa.*

rev: Same as above.

Though these coins do not contain the name of the king who issued them, the palaeography of the legends shows that they may be the issues of the time of Jayakēśi I. Further, all of them contain the title *'Malahara māri'* and we have seen that the inscription of Jayakēśi I refers to coins of that name. Hence, these coins may be attributed to Jayakēśi I. The symbols *Chatra* and *Ankuśa* which find a place on the obverse of these coins suggest sovereignty. Coin No. 3, contains a temple and in all probability it may represent the *Saptakōṭīśvara* shrine which was held in veneration by all the rulers of this dynasty, as evidenced by their titles. Thus the coins of Jayakēśi I exhibit great variety.

Coins of Jayakēśi II

G.H. Khare brought to light a gold coin of the Kadamba ruler Jayakēśi.[6] The coin is as follows:

obv: There are three circles, the central one is made of dots and within the smallest circle is a standing lion to the left. In front of the lion is the legend *Durmati* in two lines in Nāgari.

rev: The reverse has a circle of dots and a five line inscription in Nāgari.

Śrī saptako
ṭīśa labdhavara
vīra Jayakēśi
dēva malava
ra māri

Like the other coins of Jayakēśi, this also does not specify which ruler he was. However, the cyclic year *Durmati* given on the coin corresponds to 1081-82, 1141-42, and 1201-02 A.D. in this context. Thus it becomes clear that *Durmati* falls within the reigns of both Jayakēśi II and Jayakēśi III. Hence this coin may be taken as an issue of either Jayakēśi II or III.

Coins of Śivachitta Permāḍi

Śivachaitta also called Permāḍi also issued gold coins of the standard variety.[7] One of them weighs 76.5 grains and measures 0.69".

obv: It has a circle of dots in which is a lion facing front with one of his legs raised. There is the figure of the sun to the left above and below it is seen the Nāgari legend *Jaya.*

rev: Within a circle of dots is a Nāgari legend in five lines.

Śrī saptako
ṭīśa labdhavara
vīra Hemmā
ḍidēva mala
vara māri

The cyclic year Jaya corresponds to 1174 A.D. and falls within the reign of Hemmāḍidēva (1147-87 A.D).

In another type of gold coin, the name of the king is written as Śivachitta vīra Hemmāḍidēva.[8]

obv: Within a circle of dots is found a lion to the left and near its mouth is seen the Nāgari legend *Vishṇu.*

rev: Within a circle of dots is found a Nāgari legend in five lines.

Śrī saptako
ṭīśa labdhavara śi
vachitta vīra Hemā
ḍideva mala
vara māri

The cyclic year *Vishu* corresponds to 1161 A.D. and falls within the reign of Hemmāḍidēva or Permāḍideva.

A similar coin with a different cyclic year has also been reported.[9] In one of them the cyclic year on the obverse is written as *Īśvara.* This cyclic year corresponds to 1157-58 A.D. and falls within the reign of Permāḍidēva. Another coin almost similar to the one mentioned above has been found.[10] In this coin, the cyclic year is given as *Bahudhānya* which corresponds to 1158-59 and falls within the reign of Permāḍidēva.

Coins of the same type with minor variations in the writing of the legend have also been noticed.[11] In one of them in addition to the same obverse the letter *Nya* is seen. The reverse shows the legend in four lines as follows:

Śrī saptako
ṭīśva labdha vara śi
vachitta vīra Hemā
ḍidēvara malavara māri

In another specimen the legend on the reverse is as follows:

Sa labdha Vara śi
vachitta vīrahemā
ḍidēvara mala
vara māri

There is also another type of coin of this ruler where the name Śivachitta alone appears.[12]

obv: In a circle of dots is found a lion with a ball in his mouth. In front of the lion is a Nāgari legend *Kīlaka*:

rev: Within a circle of dots a Nāgari legend in three lines.

Śivachitta
vīra dēvēśvara
malavara māri

The cyclic year *Kīlaka* corresponds to 1187 A.D. and it happens to be the last year of Hemmāḍideva's reign.

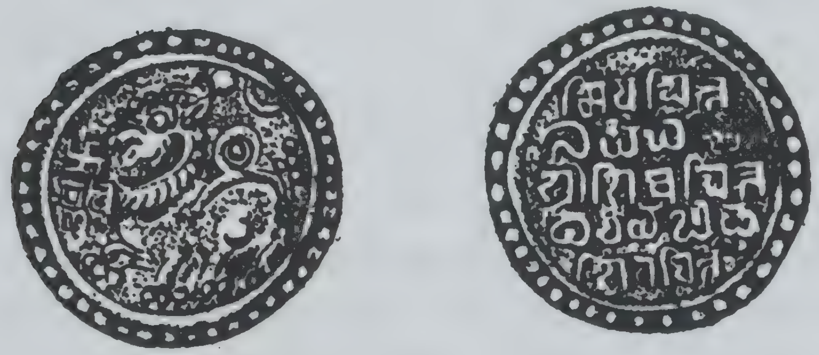
However, the most unique coin of this ruler is a gold coin minted in the year *Plava*. This coin is preserved in the museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay.

obv: There are two circles one within the other, the outer one is formed of dots. Within the circle is a standing lion with one of its front legs slightly raised. Near the mouth of the lion is a *Swastika* and just below it is the Nāgari legend *Plava*.

rev: There are two circles as in the obverse. Within this circle the name of *Śivachitta* is written in both Nāgari and old Kannaḍa characters. The Nāgari legend appears in the first, third and in the fifth lines whereas the Kannaḍa legend appears in the second and in the fifth lines.

Śivachitta (Nāgari)
Śivachitta (Kannaḍa)
Śivachitta (Nāgari)
Śivachitta (Kannaḍa)
Śivachitta (Nāgari)

This coin also provides indirect evidence on the Kannaḍa affinity of the Kadambas of Goa. It is also noteworthy that this coin was discovered in Goa itself. The cyclic year *Plava* corresponds to 1181 A.D. and this falls within the reign of Śivachitta. The presence of *Swastika* symbol on the obverse of this coin is also noteworthy.



Coin of Śivachitta

Moraes also mentions a silver coin which he doubtfully attributes to Hemmāḍidēva.[13] M.G. Diskhit published a coin which was in the possession of an individual at Goa.[14] The coin is of gold and measures 0.8" and weighs 89 grains. The obverse and the reverse of this coin are as follows:

obv: There is a circle of dots near the margin and within that a lion facing left with one of his front legs upraised. On the left is the legend *Āngira* in old Kannaḍa characters.

rev: Within a circle of dots there is a legend in five lines in Nāgari characters.

Śrī Saptako
ṭiśa labda vara
vīra Jayakēśi
dēva Malva
hara māri

From the legend on the reverse it becomes clear that this coin surely belongs to Goa Kadamba ruler Jayakēśi. As there were three Jayakēśis in that family, it becomes difficult to ascribe this to any particular ruler. M.G. Dikshit, however, ascribed this coin to Jayakēśi II. But he gave no reasons for this. When the cyclic year given on the obverse of this coin is closely examined, it becomes clear that the opinion of M.G. Dikshit is not correct. The cyclic year *Āngīrasa* corresponds to 1092, 1152 and 1212 A.D. in the context of the rule of the Kadambas of Goa. We have the following reign for the three Jayakēśis of this dynasty. Jayakēśi I -1050-1078 A.D. Jayakēśi II-1147 A.D. and Jayakēśi III-1187-1226. Thus it becomes cleat that *Āngīrasa* falls within the reign of Jayakēśi III alone. If as M.G. Dikshit thinks that this coin belongs to Jayakēśi II, it becomes difficult to explain why *Āngīrasa* which does not fall during his reign should find a place on his coin. On the same ground, the possibility of Jayakēśi I as the author of this coin has also to be doubted. Hence this coin must have been issued only by Jayakēśi III. A similar coin has been published by Elliot and Moraes.[15] This is also a gold coin and can be called a sub-variety of the type discussed above. The reverse is exactly identical with that discussed above. But instead of the word *Āngira* the coin in question contains *Pramoda.* Elliot has not assigned this coin to any particular king of the same name. But Moraes has attributed this coin to Jayakēśi II.[16] But this attribution does not seem to be correct. The cyclic year *Pramoda* corresponds to 1090-91, 1150-51 and 1210-11 A.D. in this context. So it does not fall within the reigns of Jayakēśi I and Jayakēśi II. On the other hand it falls within the reign of Jayakēśi III. If this coin is accepted as an issue of Jayakēśi II, as Moraes does, it becomes difficult to explain the presence of the cyclic year *Pramoda* on the coin which does not agree with his reign. Hence this coin should be ascribed to Jayakēśi III.

Coins of Sōyidēva

A gold coin of Sōyidēva almost similar to that of Jayakēśi has been found.[17] It weighs 62 grains and measures 0.8".

obv: Within a border of dots is a lion facing left with one of his legs upraised. On the left is the Nāgari legend *Plava.*

rev: Within a circle of dots, Nāgari legend in four lines.

Śrī Sapatako
ṭīśvara charaṇa
labdha vara vīra
sōyidēva

The cyclic year Plava corresponds to 1241-42 A.D. and falls within the reign of Kadamba Sōyidēva. Moreover, the legend on the obverse mentions the name of Sōyidēva. Hence this coin without any doubt could be ascribed to Kadamba Sōyidēva who ruled from 1226-27 to 1245-46 A.D.

Another coin of the same ruler almost similar to the one described above has also been reported from Goa itself.[18]

obv: Within a border of dots is a lion facing left with one of his legs upraised. On the left is the Nāgari legend *Viśvāvasu* in two lines.

rev: The same as above.

The cyclic year *Viśvāvasu* mentioned in the coin corresponds to 1245-46 A.D. This date falls within the reign of Sōyidēva. Hence this is also a definite coin of Sōyidēva Kadamba.

Walter Elliot's collection also has two coins of this ruler.[19] One of them is as follows:

obv: A circle of dots and a lion to the left. There is a legend which is indistinct.

rev: The same as above mentioning Sōyidēva by name.

However, Moraes reads the obverse legend as *Bahudhānya.*[20] But a closer examination of the coin proves that the reading of Moraes is not correct. Further *Bahudhānya* would correspond to 1218-19 A.D. This would fall outside the reign of Sōyidēva, as Sōyidēva's known dates are 1226-27 to 1245-46 A.D. Though this coin can be definitely ascribed to Sōyidēva, its cyclic year is not certain.

Another coin of Elliot's collection is also equally uncertain with regard to the legend on the obverse.[21] The reverse shows the legend identical with those of the other coins of Sōyidēva. Sōyidēva also issued another type of gold coins. They weigh 63 grains and measure 0.75".

obv: It contains a circle of dots and within it the lion facing left with one of its legs upraised. There is a figure of conch and in front of its is seen Nāgari legeṇd *Śrī Sōi.*

rev: The reverse also has a circle of dots and within that is a trident at the top and below it is seen a Nāgari legend in two lines.

Śrī Malaha
ra māri

This coin has certain new features not seen so far in the early types. So far only the reverse contained the name of the ruler but here the obverse has the name of the king. There is also a change of spelling in writing Sōyidēva's name. The vowel *i* is used instead of *yi* as seen in the early type. The representation of the conch and trident are also noteworthy features. The Karihalasige copper plates of Jayakēśi III refer to *Malaharamāri Nishkas.*[22] Fleet who edited this inscription could not explain this phrase. Now it can be said with certainty that *Malaharamāri Nishkas* are those coins on which this title occurs.

Coins of Shasṭhadēva

No coin definitely attributable to this ruler Chaṭṭayya III (1246-47 to 1257-58 A.D) has been found. However, Moraes reads the legend on one of the coins of Elliot's collection as *Dēva Shasṭha-Sōvadēva.*[23] Further he thinks that Sōvadēva and Shasṭha ruled conjointly for sometime. This cannot be corroborated by other evidences. As the reading of Moraes is also doubtful, nothing definite can be said about this coin. However, this is the only doubtful coin where the name Shasṭhadeva appears.

Coin of Kāmadēva

Only one doubtful coin of this ruler has been noticed.

obv: It has a circle of dots and within that is seen a lion and above the lion is the Nāgari letter *Śrī* and below the lion is the legend *Lashama.*

rev: Within a circle of dots is a Nāgari legend in three lines.

. . . .
Kamara . . . .
ra Māri . . . .

In all probability this coin may be attributed to Kadamba ruler Kāmadēva, the son-in-law of Sōyidēva Tribhuvanamalla.

Unidentified Kadamba Coins

There are some coins of the Kadambas of Goa which cannot be ascribed to any particular king for want of authentic data.

Coin 1

Inferior metal, size 0.65".[24]

obv: Lion within a linear circle with the sun and the moon and the word *Pramoda* in Nāgari.

rev: Within a circle of dots, Nāgari legend in three lines.

Śrī
koṭī
śvara

Coin 2

This is a gold coin of 67.8 grains and measures 0.72".[25]

obv: Lion standing within a circle with the sun and the moon above. Nāgari legend *ana* or *Jana.*

rev: Circle of dots and a five line inscription in Nāgari.

Śrī Saptako
ṭīśvaraḥ labdha vara

. . . . . . *ke*

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

The above coin has been ascribed to Jayakēśi on the ground that the reverse contains the letter *ke* (the remaining letters not clear). In the obverse the legend *ana* or *jana* does not have any meaning. Moraes thinks that the correct reading should be *lana* and this to be *Naḷa,* the cyclic year. Even if this reading is taken as correct, this will not solve the problem of the issuer of this coin. The cyclic year *Naḷa* corresponds to 1076-77, 1136-37 and 1196-97 A.D. and these fall within the reigns of all the three Jayakēśis of this dynasty. Hence we cannot attribute this coin to any particular Jayakēśi.

Coin 3

Another silver coin has been listed by V.A. Smith. The legend is incomplete.[26]

obv: Circle surrounded by border of dots, a lion, the sun and moon above and a legend (probably cyclic year).

rev: Circle of dots and the Nāgari legend.

Saska gu
. . . . . *chi*
ttadēvaḥ

The legend on the reverse causes a doubt regarding its attribution to the Kadambas of Goa.

Some very small coins of gold also have been reported from various places in and around Goa. Generally they weigh 6.3 grains and measure 0.25".[27]

Coin 4

obv: Within a circle of dots a standing lion.

rev: Within a circle of dots the legend *Śrī* followed by *Swastika.*

Coin 5

obv: Within a circle of dots a standing lion and before it a *triśūla.*

rev: Within circle of dots, a *triśūla* with no legend.

The obverse of both these coins (the lion within a dotted circle) makes it clear that these coins belong to the Kadambas of Goa.

Thus from the point so view of variety, the inscription and titles, the coins of Kadambas of Goa can be considered unique. Compared to many Karnataka dynasties, the coinage of the Goa Kadambas stands superior in many respects.

Kadambas of Hāngal

The Kadambas of Hāngal who ruled from their capital Hāngal were the contemporaries of the Kadambas of Goa. They were a feudatory family like the Kadambas of Goa. But from the numismatic point of view they are obscure. The Kadambas of Goa issued many types of gold coins about which there is certainty of attribution. But coins which can be definitely attributed to the Kadambas of Hāngal are yet to be found.

The Kadambas of Hāngal had Hanuman as their *lānchana.* Some of the coins which contain Hanumān have been assigned to this dynasty. A coin of this type has been reported by Moraes.[28] It is a gold coin of 63 grains and has a diameter of 0.7".

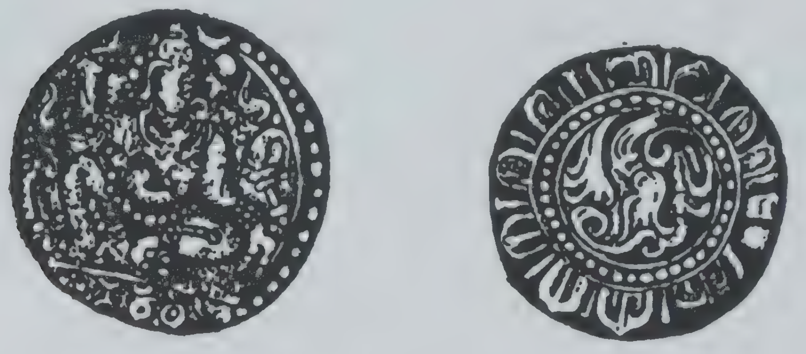
obv: Within a small circle in the centre is a floral design; this circle has two outer concentric circles, one of which is of dots. The outermost circle has ornamental petals.

rev: Within two circles, one of which is of dots, Hanumān in sitting posture; on both sides are seen two *chauries;* below is the legend *nakara* in Kannaḍa; the interspace is filled with dots.

Elliot has illustrated a similar coin.[29] Its weight is 65 grains. On the obverse is seen a lion within a floral border described above.

Reverse is the same representing Hanumān and the legend *nakara.* The word *nakara* has been taken to represent *Nakarēśvara* of Bankāpura.

P.L. Gupta has ascribed certain coins with nine punches, the central punch being that of Hanumān, to the Kadambas of Hāngal.[30]



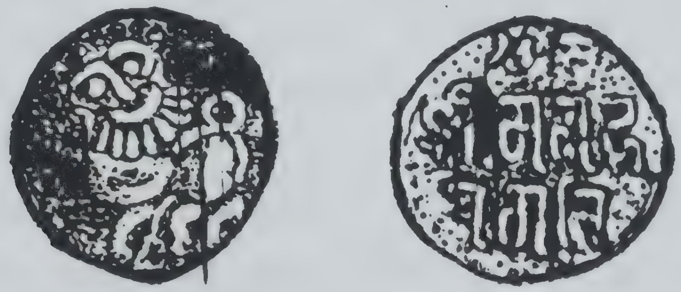
Coin of Hāngal Kadambas

But this coin belongs to the punched variety whereas the known coins of the Hāngal Kadambas are die struck ones. Further the legend *suga* on these coins can not be associated with the Kadambas of Hāngal.

G.H. Khare has brought to light some small coins and has ascribed them to Tōyimadēva of this dynasty.[31] Tōyimadēva or Taila, a brother of Mayūravarma ruled from 1048 to 1075 A.D. Certain coins which are less than 2 grains in weight have been ascribed to him. Obverse of these coins contains an indistinct animal. The reverse contains the legend *Śrī To* in Kannaḍa. On the basis of the legend *To,* Khare has suggested that this coin may belong to Kadamba Tōyimadēva.

Girijapathy has published two coins of this dynasty.[32] One of them is similar to the one with Hanumān and legend *nakara* on the obverse and floral design on the reverse. Perhaps this coin was made from another die. The other coin is uninscribed. It contains on the obverse Hanumān in similar posture. The reverse has a floral design. This weighs 0.43 gms and thus it is one tenth of the other coin and hence may be called a *paṇa* of the Hāngal Kadamba period.

Mukunda Prabhu has identified a coin which contains on the obverse the legend *Malahara Māri* in Nāgari script in two lines. The reverse has the usual lion. It weighs 3.75 gms and its diameter is 12 mms.[33]



Malaharamāri Nishka

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13. *Ibid.*
14. *JNSI.,* Vol. 10, pt. ii, p. 134.
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16. *Ibid.,* M.H. Krishna also notices this coin but simply states that this coin belongs to Jayakēśi. *MAR.,* 1940, p. 84.

17. *JNSI.,* Vol. 10, part i, p. 143.
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20. Moraes: *The Kadamba Kula,* p. 384.
21. Elliot: *Coins of Southern India,* p. 152 c. No. 68.
22. *JBBRAS.,* Vol. 9, pp. 241-46.
23. Moraes: *The Kadamba Kula,* p. 384.
24. *MAR.,* 1940, p. 85.
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CHAPTER XIV

COINS OF THE ĀḶUPAS

The Āḷupas, one of the very ancient dynasties of Karnataka ruled for over a thousand years in the coastal tract of Karnataka, mostly comprising of South Kanara district. The earliest reference to their land is seen in the work of Ptolemy. They are referred to in the famous Halmiḍi inscription. The Āḷupas belonged to the lunar race and had fish as their royal symbol. They also called themselves as belonging to the *Pāṇḍya Vamśa.* Among the most important titles of the Āḷupa rulers, *Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya* and *Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya* are worth noting.' Mangalore, Udyāvara, Bārakūr and Mooḍabidri were the capitals of the Āḷupas during various periods. Though the Āḷupas played an important role in the history of Karnataka, adequate attention to the history of this dynasty does not seem to have been paid by historians. K.V. Ramesh[1] and P. Gururaja Bhatt[2] have evinced great interest in the history of this dynasty and we have reliable dynastic and cultural histories of this dynasty. But the coins of this family were not studied in a scientific way till very recently. M.M. Prabhu, a numismatist and collector of coins wrote a good account of the coins of this dynasty in an excellent article.[3] Dr. Gururaja Bhatt has also added to the knowledge of Āḷupa coins by his discoveries.[4]

Though the coins which we now ascribe to the Āḷupas were known from very early period, scholars did not recognise them as the Āḷupa coins. All these coins were ascribed to the Pāṇḍyas of Madurā by writers like Elliot, Rapson and others. Even the latest writer, P.L. Gupta, does not attribute these coins to the Āḷupas.[5] S. Ramayya has argued at length to show that the so called Āḷupa coins were the issues of the Pāṇḍyas.[6] He writes "the conclusion is therefore that the balance of evidence is still in favour of attributing the issues to Madurā Pāṇḍyas and not to Āḷupas in the present state of our knowledge".[7] Before we examine the coins of the Āḷupas, it is necessary to examine the arguments of some of these scholars to prove that the Āḷupas were the authors of these coins. The coins in question contain a fish on the obverse and the Kannaḍa legend *Śrī Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya* on the reverse.

The coins of the Āḷupas are in gold and silver. Ramayya doubts the capacity of the Āḷupas, who according to him were a minor family, to issue gold coins. He thinks only an imperial and important dynasty like the Pāṇḍyas could have issued gold coins. We have already referred to the beautiful gold coins of the minor families like the Kadambas of Goa and Hangal. From this it becomes clear that the minor families were also capable of issuing gold coins. Further an Āḷupa inscription itself refers to gold *gadyāṇas* as opposed to silver *gadyāṇas.*[8] *Ponnu* or *Honnu,* which is undoubtedly a gold coin, is mentioned in a large number of Āḷupa inscriptions. Even minor variations of *Honnu* are mentioned. This is a clear proof of the minting of gold coins by the Āḷupas.

Though coins are extremely migratory, their place of discovery also has to be taken into consideration. Most of the coins in question are recovered from Mangalore, Bārakūr, Udayāvara and other places in and around South Kanara, the home of the Āḷupas. It is said that even today people collect small coins of this type in the rainy season in the fields in South Kanara. This shows how prolific these coins are in that area. But Ramayya thinks that when the Pāṇḍyas deserted Madurā before the advance of Malik Kafur, some princes fled to their cousins in Mysore country with whatever treasure they could remove. This explanation is highly imaginary and cannot be accepted. So from the provenance of these coins, we can easily connect them with Tuḷunāḍu ruled by the Āḷupas.

The occurrence of fish on the obverse of these coins can be considered now. It is true that the Pāṇḍyas of Madurā had fish as their dynastic symbol. But there is nothing to show that symbol was exclusively theirs. In this connection we have to note that the Āḷupas also had fish as their *lānchana.* This is known from an inscription found in the Mahālingēśvara temple at Vēṇūr in South Kanara district, dated 967-68 A.D. and belonging to the time of Kundavarma.[9] In this inscription, the king is described as *mīna lānchanōpetaḥ* i.e., one having the *lānchana* of fish. This is corroborated by another inscription recently discovered by Gururaja Bhatt.[10] This inscription belongs to 9th Century A.D. The most interesting part of the inscription is that it shows a pair of fish at the top of the stone before the commencement of the writing. These two inscriptions prove beyond doubt that the *lānchana* of the Āḷupas was also fish. Hence the representation of the fish on Āḷupa coins need not take us to the Pāṇḍyas of Madurā.

The legend on the coins of the Āḷupas makes reference to *Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya.* The word Pāṇḍya on these coins lead the early numismatists to attribute these coins to the Pāṇḍyas of Madurā. Now, it is well known that many Āḷupa rulers prefixed their names with the word Pāṇḍya. This may be illustrated from the names of the Āḷupa rulers such as Pāṇḍyapparasa, Pāṇḍyarāja, Pāṇḍyappoḍeya, Pāṇḍya Paṭṭigadēva etc. This practice might have started from the time of Chitravāhana I, the Āḷupa king, who ably and effectively checked the invasion of Pāṇḍya Kochchadaiyan at Mangaḷāpura. It is suggested by Dr. Ramesh that "this achievement on the part of Chitravāhana I may have prompted the members of his family to associate themselves with the dynastic name of Pāṇḍya as a mark of triumph and glory".[11]

The occurrence of the word *Dhananjaya* or *Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya* on these coins has not been properly explained by those who assign these coins to the Pāṇḍyas of Madurā. No king bearing the name or the title *Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya* is known among the rulers of Madurā. Realising this difficulty, Ramayya takes refuge in the Mahābhārata hero Arjuna "who in mythical ages is supposed to have married a Pāṇḍyan princess of Madurā and became the progenitor of this line of kings." But we have ample evidence to show that *Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya* was one of the characteristic epithets of medieval and later Āḷupa rulers. An inscription from Varānga in South Kanara district describes the king Kumdana as *Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya* and *Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya.*[12] Another inscription from the same place of the time of Āḷupa king Sōyidēva, dated 1332 A.D., refers to the king by the titles *Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya* and *Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya.*[13] From these two inscriptions cited above, it becomes clear that the title *Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya* was common among the Āḷupa kings and it was not known among the Pāṇḍyas of Madurā.

The coins in question contain legends in Nāgari and Kannaḍa scripts. The presence of Kannaḍa script on the coins of Madurā cannot be explained satisfactorily. Ramayya states "it is difficult to account for the Kannaḍa legends except by saying the new comers and the local Pāṇḍyas issued some currency in the local language to make themselves popular." This explanation is highly imaginary and need not be taken seriously. The Āḷupas, being a Karnataka dynasty, issued majority of their inscriptions in Kannaḍa language and script. Hence, the Kannaḍa legend on the coins can be easily identified as that of the Āḷupas.

An inscription from Kotakeri in Bārakūr dated 1139 A.D., belonging to the times of Kavi Āḷupēndra mentions gift of thirty *Pāṇḍya gadyāṇas* to the temple of Mārkaṇḍēśvara.[14] The reference here obviously means *gadyāṇas* in which the name *Pāṇḍya* is written. This also proves that *Pāṇḍya gadyāṇas* belonged to the Āḷupas. From the facts mentioned above, it becomes amply clear that the opinion of Ramayya that these are the issues of the Pāṇḍyas of Madurā is erroneous. So these coins should be ascribed to the Āḷupas.

The inscriptions of the Āḷupas mention a large number of coins that were in circulation during their rule. *Gadyāṇa, Varaha, honnu,* and *haṇa* find frequent mention in the Āḷupa inscriptions. We also notice some minor variations in the coin *gadyāṇa.* The connotation of *kāṭi gadyāṇa* and *ardha kāṭigadyāṇa* is not known. *Bāhira gadyāṇa* has been taken to represent a coin struck outside South Kanara and brought into circulation in the region.[15] *Saṇṇa Prātapa gadyāṇa* and *Varaha gadyāṇa* are other *gadyāṇas* mentioned in the inscriptions. *Ghaṭṭi Varaha* and *Doḍḍa Varaha* are varieties of *Varaha* coins. The meaning of the word *Kāṭihonnu* is also not clear. *Mangaḷūra gadyāṇa* and *Bārakūra gadyāṇa* are obviously *gadyāṇas* minted in the capital cities of Mangalore and Bārakūr.

Now we may examine the coins of the Āḷupas so far discovered and reported. The coins of the Āḷupas are circular double die struck coins. One variety of coins weigh about 50 grains and the other variety conforms to 5 grains. If the former are taken as *gadyāṇas,* the latter can be *haṇas* of *paṇas* as we know from other sources that *gadyāṇa* was equal to ten *paṇas.* The diameter of the *gadyāṇa* coins range from 0.54" to 0.65". The obverse of these coins contain fish, conch, canopy, goad, waterpot and the reverse has the legend either in Nāgari or Kannaḍa script.

Coins of Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya

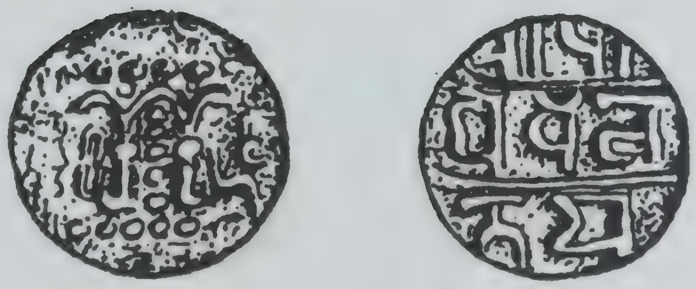
Type A: In this variety there is only a single fish on the obverse.

obv: A single fish under a canopy with conch to left and *chauri* to right.

rev: Three line legend in Nāgari.

Śrī pā
ṇḍya Dhanan
jaya

Type B: In this type there are two fish on the obverse.



Coin of Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya

obv: Two fish under a canopy with a conch and *chauri* to left and right respectively.

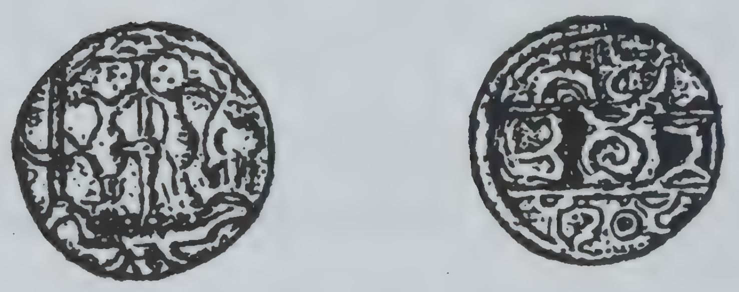
rev: As in type A.

Type C: In this variety, the legend on the reverse is in Kannaḍa.

obv: Two fish under a canopy and waterpot and lamp at right and left. Conch below the fish.

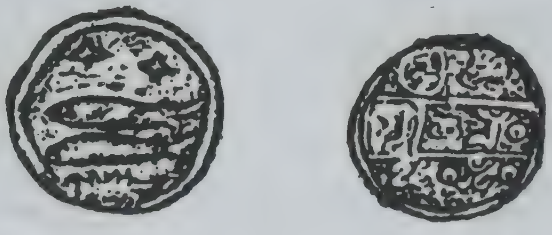
rev: Three line legend in Kannaḍa script.

Pāṇ
ḍya Dhanan
jaya



Coin of Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya

Type D: This coin is slightly different from the remaining three types both in the obverse and the reverse.[16] The obverse though contains two fish, they are horizontally placed one above the other and are not stylised. Over the fish are seen two smaller fish in a line. Below the fish is what looks like a scorpion. The reverse has the legend *Śrī Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya* in three lines. But the lines are separated by two horizontal lines below the first and second lines. Thus this is a unique variety.



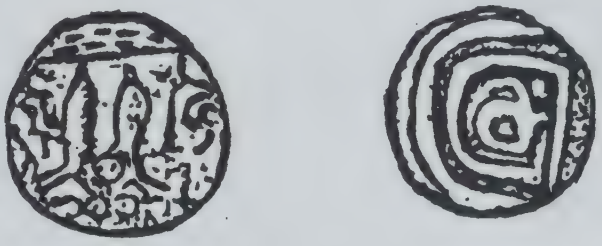
Coin of Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya

All these four types are *gadyāṇas* as their weight ranges from 50 to 56 grains. It is not possible to identify the ruler who issued these coins because we know that atleast two Āḷupa kings assumed the title

Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya. The first was the ruler Kundana whose known dates are 1220-30 A.D. The second king who assumed this title was Sōyidēva Āḷupēndradēva who ruled from C. 1315 to 1335 A.D. There is no clue to ascertain which of these two kings issued these coins.[17]

Other Coins

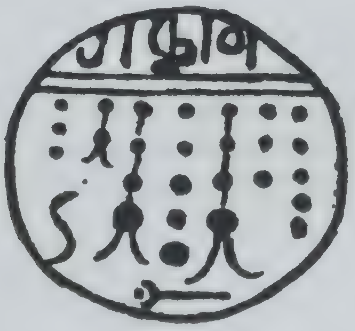
In some coins of five grains which are obviously *haṇas,* are seen two fish on the obverse with a conch and a waterpot to right and left. The reverse contains a stylised *Śrī* in Kannaḍa.[18]



Coin of Vīra Kulaśēkhara

In another gold coin of 5.5. grains, the obverse contains two fish. The reverse has the Nāgari letter *Vi.* This coin has been ascribed to Āḷupa king Vīra Kulaśēkhara. This attribution is conjectural.[19]

A similar coin of identical weight contains on the reverse the Nāgari letter *So.* This has been ascribed to Sōyidēvarasa who also had the title *Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya.*[20]



Coin showing the legend gadyāṇa

A unique base gold coin of this dynasty has been brought to light by Mukunda Prabhu.[21] It is circular with a diameter of 14 mm. Its weight is 3.5 gms. The obverse has stylized fish and above is the legend in Nāgari reading *gadyāṇa.* Normally coins with the denomination or the name of the coin itself have not been found. Hence the present coin containing its name, *gadyāṇa* is thus very significant. Thus it is a unique coin not only of the Āḷupas but among the Hindu dynasties of South India.

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16. P.L. Gupta, Coins, Plate XIX, No. 212.
17. However, Gururaj Bhatt distinguishes them as the issues of 11th century and 14th century. He thinks that the palaeography of Kannaḍa legend points to 11th century A.D. *Mānavika Karnāṭaka,* Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 33.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *JNSI.,* Vol. 27, p. 58.
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21. *SSIC.,* I, 91.

CHAPTER XV

COINS OF THE FEUDATORY CHIEFS

During the early medieval period, many minor chiefs ruled in different parts of Karnataka as subordinates or feudatories of the imperial powers like the Rāshṭrakūṭas, Chālukyas, Hoysaḷas and the Sēvuṇas. Generally they styled themselves as *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* or *mahāsāmanta* or simply *sāmanta,* and as *pādapadmōpajīvi* of their suzerains. They could not issue inscriptions without a reference to the ruling sovereign. While issuing an inscription they had to mention the ruling king and his exploits with titles and then refer to themselves as ruling under him. Under these conditions they were allowed to issue inscriptions. It was believed that these feudatories did not enjoy the privilege of minting coins in their own name as it was a prerogative of the suzerain. But in recent years, Mukunda Prabhu and others have identified many coins of the feudatories. However, it is not known under what circumstances these feudatories were allowed to mint coins even though the ruling suzerain was powerful. A perusal of the history of the feudatories of Karnataka makes it clear that they were always eager to change sides from one power to another and whenever the suzerain became weak they tried to become independent disregarding the suzerain. Hence it is quite likely that the feudatories minted coins whenever such a situation presented itself and they lost no time in minting coins. Or it could also be possible that the suzerain being very much dependent upon a strong feudatory permitted him to issue coins as a special favour for political reasons. Whatever might have been the case, coins of the feudatiries have been found and they add a new chapter to the history of the coinage of Karnataka. This is the case with the Pāḷegārs of the later period also. It is proposed to study the coins of some of these minor chiefs here.

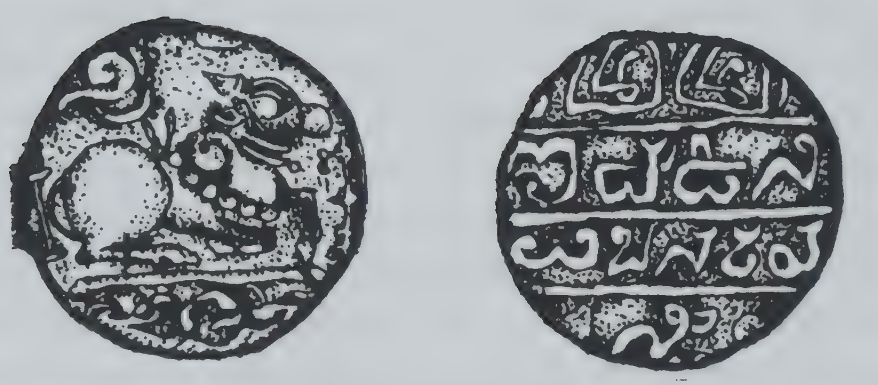
(a) The Noḷamba Coins

The Noḷambas played an important role in the political history of Karnataka from the middle of the eighth century to the middle of the eleventh century A.D., as contemporaries of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, Gangas of Talkāḍ, Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Their inscriptions mention the coin terms such as *gadyāṇa, pon* and *paṇa,* as also *Nandi gadyāṇa* which obviously had a *Nandi* on it. Sohanlal Sisodiya was the first to publish a Noḷamba[1] coin followed by Krishnamurthy.[2] The former published a gold coin the weight of which was 3.4 gms and its diameter 13 mms.

obv: Highly decorated Nandi facing right, seated on a pedestal; sword and lamp post on either side; sun and moon above with a *śankha*

rev: Four line Kannaḍa legend with separating lines

śrī śrī
immaḍi no
ḷa(m)ba nārāya
ṇa



Noḷamba gold coin

The title *Noḷamba Nārāyaṇa* is very significant and two kings Dilīpa or Iriva Noḷamba (940-968) and Mahēndra II (977-981) had this title. On the basis of this title, Sisodiya has identified this coin as the issue of Dilīpa or Iriva Noḷamba whereas Krishnamurthy has attributed this to Mahēndra II. It is difficult to clinch the issue satisfactorily unless we get better additional evidence. As this contains the bull on it, obviously it is the one which is referred to as *Nandi gadyāṇa* in contemporary records.

Another gold coin which is slightly different has also been published by Krishnamurthy.[3] It is circular and weighs 3.7 gms.

obv: An ornamented elephant

rev: Three line Kannaḍa legend

śrī dili
payana
ya

Obviously this legend refers to the Noḷamba king Dilīpayya or Iriva Noḷamba Dilīpa who ruled from 940 to 968 A.D. As this king was a feudatory of the Gangas of Talkāḍ he should have minted the elephant (Ganga insignia) instead of his own *Nandi* as a symbol of subordinate position.

A copper coin with decorated *Nandi* on the obverse with the legend *Noḷamba Nārāyaṇa* is in the collection of Vernekar of Belgaum. Typollogically, it is similar to the *Nandi gadyāṇa* of gold. Perhaps this could have been issued either by Dilīpa or Mahēndra II.

(b) Coin of Bāṇa Chief Vairigajakēsari

Mukunda Prabhu has identified a gold coin of Bāṇa chief Duddarasa.[4] This Duddarasa is mentioned in an inscription of 1095 A.D., in which he has many titles among which *vairigajakēsari* is important.[5] He was the son of Hiṭṭeyarasa and Jungaladēvi and was ruling over Samhata-nāḍu, Pakumavāḍi and other areas. The coin in question is circular; weight 3.9 gms; diameter 13 mms.

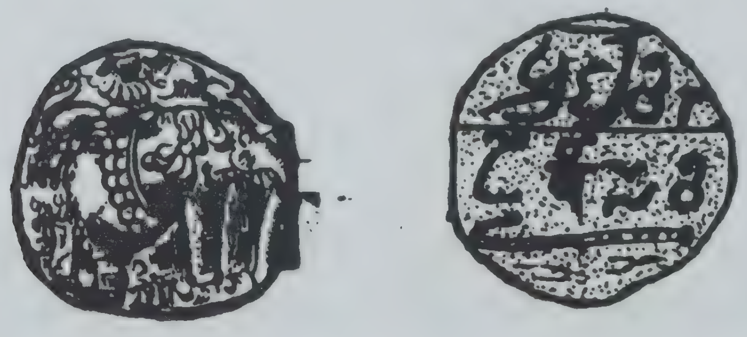
obv: A caparisoned elephant to the right; on its back is a rampant lion.

rev: Two line Kannaḍa legend with separating lines

śrī vairiga
jakēsari

and an *ankuśa* below.

The representation of the lion on the obverse is very interesting. It actually resembles the elephant found on the Ganga gold coins in all the details except the lion which is on the top of the elephant.

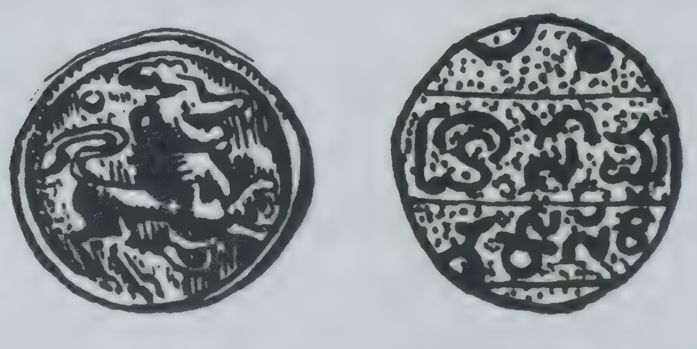


Coin of Bāṇa Duddarasa

As Duddarasa had the title *vairigajakēsari* as known from the above inscription, this coin can easily be ascribed to him. The obverse shows the lion attacking the elephant and that is a good pictorial representation of the title. The coin is also very elegant and artistic.

(c) Coin of Bāṇa Chief Sāmantakēsari

Another gold coin issued by Vikramāditya of the Bāṇa dynasty has been reported by the same scholar.[6] It is a gold coin and weighs 3.8 gms. Its diameter is 13 mms. The coin is very elegant particularly in respect of the fine legend as well as the representation of the lion on the obverse.



Coin of Bāṇa Sāmantakēsari

obv: A lion to the right with forepaw raised and the tail curled above; below is a symbol resembling Kannaḍa letter *ka*

rev: Sun and moon at the top; Kannaḍa legend in two lines with separating lines

śrī sāma
ntakēsari

Intially he was identified as a Ganga feudatory. But the title *Sāmantakēsari* is found in an inscription of Chālukya Vijayāditya as applied to Bāṇa chief Vikramāditya, the paternal uncle of Bāṇa chief who was ruling over Turamare-vishaya. He also had the other title *taruṇavasanta.* Taking all these evidences he has been identified as Bāṇa chief and hence this coin belongs to Bāṇa chief Vikramāditya.

(d) Coin of Gutta Chief Bhīma

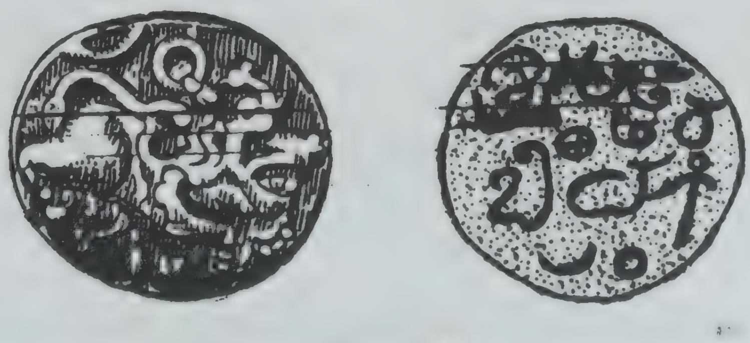
A gold coin of this chief has been reported by the same scholar.[7] It is circular and the weight of which is 3.85 gms and its diameter is 14 mms.

obv: A lion to the right; sun and moon above and indistinct symbols

rev: Two line Kannaḍa legend

śrī guttara
bhīma

sun and moon below and a parasol.



Coin of Gutta Chief Bhīma

A Gutta chieftain by name Chaṭṭarasa was ruling over Ballavāḍi 70 under the Noḷamba chief Trailōkyamalla Nanni Noḷamba Pallava Peremāḍi. According to an epigraph from Morigēri (1045) in Bellary district this chief had the title *Guttara Bhīma.* Hence this coin has been ascribed to him.

(e) Coin of Niḍugal Chief Irungōḷa

The Niḍugal chiefs also known as Niḍugal Choḷas were ruling in 12th-13th centuries in parts of Tumkur, Chitradurga, Bellary and Anantapur districts. They were *mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras.* They first ruled from Henjēru and later shifted to their other capital Niḍugal in Tumkur district. Irungōḷa I was the first *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and was a subordinate of Chālukya Trailōkyamalla. Subsequently Mallidēva, Bamma, and the latter's son Irungōḷa II ruled successively. Irungōḷa II not only became independent but even joined hands with the Sēvuṇas against the Hoysaḷas. Thus he was a powerful Niḍugal chief. According to some inscriptions from Pāvagaḍa and Sirā taluks, Irungōḷa II had the title *dānavamurāri.*[8] Now a coin with this title as the legend has been reported by Mukunda Prabhu.[9] It is a gold coin of 3.8 gms in weight and 13 mms in diameter.

obv: Anthropoid *garuḍa* with upraised right hand and left hand bent down touching the knee

rev: Kannaḍa legend in three lines

dānava
murāri
Irungōḷa

The title *dānavamurāri* confirms that the coin was issued by Irungōḷa II. In another inscription he is described as *sāmantagaruḍa* and hence he should have used *garuḍa* on the obverse of the coin.[10]

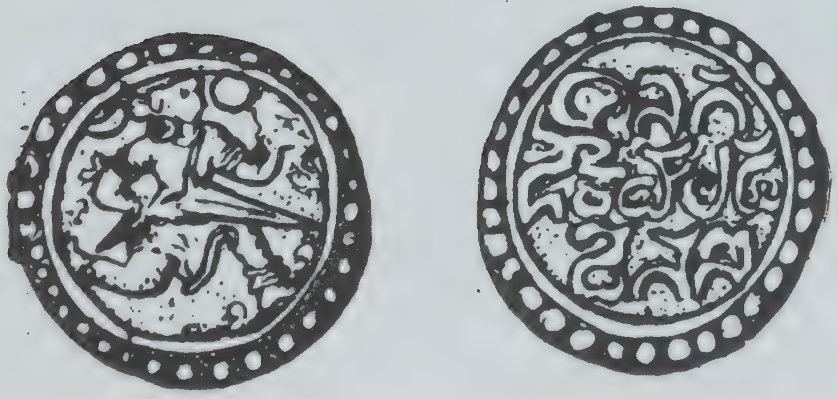
(f) Coin of Daṇḍinagōva

The gold coins of Daṇḍinagōva may also be included in this group. Ten gold coins were found in the village Mudakavi, six miles from Rāmdurga.[11] These coins are circular with a diameter of 0.6" and their weight ranges from 59 to 60.25 grains. These are not punched coins but double die coins with obverse and reverse. In fact these coins are so neatly made, one would easily mistake them as the coins of a later period, but for the Kannaḍa legend of the 12th Century A.D. on them. According to the writing of the legend they may be divided into two types. The first type has on the reverse three line Kannaḍa legend within two circles, the outer one is dotted. The legend is written as follows:

Nigalam
kamala Daṃḍi
nagōva

In the second type other things are the same but the legend is written as follows:

Śrī Niga
lamkamala Dam
ḍinagōva



Coin of Daṇḍinagōva

The obverse of both the types is the same. The obverse contains the figure of a decorated warrior facing right, going for a fight. He wears a helmet and an armour and holds a dagger. There is a hawk in the left hand which is turned upwards. Sun and moon are seen to left and right.

The two titles *Nigalankamalla* and *Daṇḍinagōva* were widely used in the ancient period by many kings. But these titles occur in an inscription of Barma Bhūpāla from Torgal dated 1187-88. He was ruling over parts of Bijapur, Dharwar and Belgaum districts in the last quarter of the 12th Century A.D. This period was marked by uncertain political conditions in Karnataka consequent on the decline of the Chālukyas and the emergence of the Sēvuṇas. Taking advantage of this political situation Barma Bhūpāla must have tried his luck by assuming independence. Hence, these coins belong to this period and the palaeography of the legend corroborates this date. Whether Barma Bhūpāla was a Chālukya feudatory or not, his coins may be placed in the period under review.

(g) Coin of the Chiefs of Nagire

The chiefs of Nagire ruled over parts of North Kanara district with Gersoppe as their capital. They ruled as the feudatories of Vijayanagara kings and had close relations with the chiefs of Hāḍuvaḷḷi. The history of these chiefs has been studied by Panchamukhi[12] and Ramesh.[13] Sāḷuva Malla or Mallirāja is known to have ruled in this region in about 1471 A.D. A coin belonging to this chief has been found at Bhatkal.[14] It is a silver coin and measures 12 mms in diameter.

obv: Rampant lion to left

rev: Sun, moon and star; below a two line
Kannaḍa legend
sāḷuva
malla

(h) Coin of Sonda (Svādi) Chief

The chiefs of Sonda or Svādi ruled in North Kanara district from about 1400 to 1760 A.D. The fourth ruler of this dynasty was Madhulinga Nāyaka. A coin of this ruler has been discovered by Raghunatha Bhat at Banavāsi.[15] It is a thick copper coin with a diameter of 17 mms and thickness of 4 mms.

obv: Within a linear circle *Nandi* seated facing left with sun and moon above

rev: Kannaḍa legend in three lines with separating lines

śrī
madhulinga
nāyaka

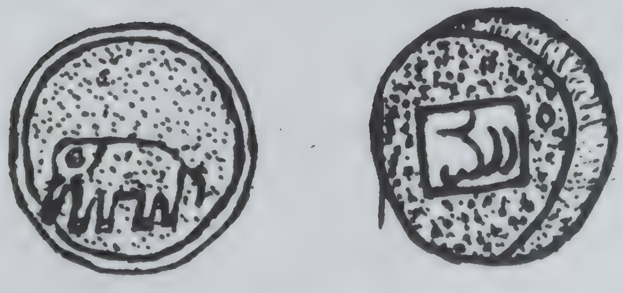
As his name itself appears on the coin, there is no difficulty in ascribing this coin to Madhulinga Nāyaka. It is quite likely that this coin confirms the local belief that there was a mint of the Sonda chiefs near the Madhukēśvara temple, at Banavāsi. At the Madhukēśvara temple are found many antiquities of the Sonda period. All these confirm the surmise of a Sonda mint at Banavāsi.

(i) Coin of Hāgalavāḍi Pāḷegār

The chiefs of Hāgaḷavāḍi also known as the Pāḷegārs ruled in parts of Tumkur district in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. Bahusar Vasudeva Rao has published a coin of one of these chiefs by name Muddu Vīrappa Nāyaka.[16] It is a copper coin with a diameter of 12 mms and thickness of 2 mms and its weight is 3 gms.

obv: Within a linear circle an elephant with some indistinct symbols

rev: Within a linear circle, a square in which is the Kannaḍa letter *mu* in eighteenth century characters. There is a small circle outside the square but within the linear circle.



Coin of Muddu Vīrappa

There were three important rulers in this family, namely, Muḍiyappa Nayaka I, Muḍiyappa Nāyaka II and Muddu Vīrappa Nāyaka. Of them, the last ruler was the most distinguished and the Mughals conferred on him the title *Jung Bahadur* for his valour. Hence this coin may be ascribed to him. Perhaps he minted this coin on the occasion of receiving the honour of *Jung Bahadur* by the Mughals. Thus it is a unique Pāḷegār coin.

(j) The Pāḷegārs of Chitradurga

The Pāḷegārs of Chitradurga minted coins on the model of the Vijayanagara coins. According to local tradition, there was a royal mint in Chitradurga which was quite active during the period. But their coins have not been found in plenty. In fact it is well known that the Vijayanagara coins were in circulation during the period in most of the kingdoms of the Pāḷegārs. The most popular coin of the Pāḷegārs of Chitradurga was known as *Durgi varaha* or *Durgi pagoḍa.* They are gold coins weighing 52 grains and have a diameter of 12 mms.

obv: Four handed *Durgā* in sitting posture with *kirīṭa* and other ornaments

rev: Nāgari legend in two lines

nāyaka
rāya

A copper coin of this dynasty is also known. It is circular with a diameter of 14 mms and a thickness of 3 mms. Its weight is 3.4 gms.

obv: Four armed female deity (perhaps *Durgā);* and some minor symbols

rev: Sun and moon above; below three line Kannaḍa legend

mada
kari nā
..... (out of flan)

In this connection it is interesting to note that a Kannaḍa work by M.S. Puṭṭaṇṇa entitled *Chitradurgada Pāḷeyagāraru* furnishes some interesting details about the coins of the Pāḷegārs of Chitradurga.[17] Though the work is not contemporary to the event it narrates, it has been taken as authentic narration of the facts. This enhances the value of the testimony found in this book regarding the coins of the Pāḷegārs of Chitradurga. The work mentions a large number of monetary transactions including payment of taxes. The tax to be paid by the farmers was in the form of *Durgī* which was equal to one and a half *varahas.* Other coins that are mentioned here are *hāga, kāsu* and *duggāṇi.* In another context Puṭṭaṇṇa refers to the operation of a mint. In the cyclic year *Virōdhi,* the king ordered a small enclosure to be built in the upper part of the palace for manufacturing coins and ornaments. They appointed eight persons well versed in the art of goldsmithy. They had to bring gold and silver from the royal treasury and prepare the required coins. A chief by name Hēmaṇṇa was appointed to supervise these minting operations. This place in course of time became famous as *chinnada mane* (gold house).

Puṭṭaṇṇa also refers to different coins that were available in the royal treasury at Chitradurga. They are *Ashrafi, Dabōli, Kaḍali, Chavuri, Gabaru, Priyakāvēri, Moharu, Puttaḷi, Śrivarāyi honnu, Bādashāhi honnu, Saṇṇagiri, Acchyutarāyi, Dēvarāyi, Rāmarāyi, Jaṭāmahi, Dhāravāḍi, Praḷayagalura, Pāpanāyaki honnu, Ādavāni honnu, Tāḍapatri honnu, Hindu honnu, Nishānikhalu, Kallukuṇṭe, Durgi and Ikkēri.* Among these *Acchyutarāyi, Dēvarāyi* and *Rāmarāyi* are the coins of the Vijayanagara rulers Acchyutarāya, Dēvarāya and Rāmarāya respectively. *Śivarāyi honnu* refers to the gold *hon* of Shivāji. *Ādavāni* and *Tāḍapatri hon* are those *hons* minted at these two places Ādvāni and Tāḍapatri which were the provincial capitals. *Durgi* and *Ikkēri* refer to coins popularly known as *Durgi pagoda* and *Ikkeri varaha. Dhāravāḍi* is obviously a coin minted at Dharwad, may be of Tipu. It is difficult to identify other coins *Kallukuṇṭe, Hindu honnu, Nishānikhalu, Praḷayagaluva, Jaṭamahi, Priya kāvēri* and others. Thus this literary work furnishes some interesting details about the coins of the Pāḷegārs of Chitradurga.

(k) Coin of Kempe Gauḍa

In and around Bangalore are found small gold coins which are popularly known as *Kuṇigal haṇa.* They are circular and have a diameter of .6 mms and weigh 6 grains.

obv: A figure of coat of chain mail

rev: Two concentric circles without any legend

It is difficult to ascribe this coin to any chief because it has no legend or any other identification mark. But locally it is known, particularly among the jewellers and coin collectors as gold coins of Kempe Gauḍa, the founder of Bangalore.

(l) Coins of the Kōḍikoṇḍa Pāḷegārs

The Pāḷegārs of Kōḍikoṇḍa in Bellary district are known to have issued gold coins which are locally famous as *subbarāya paṇams.*

obv: Recumbent serpent with three hoods

rev: Nāgari letter *śrī* with a circle of dots

(m) Coins of the Pāḷegārs of Chikkabaḷḷāpur

The Pāḷegārs of Chikkabaḷḷāpur and Doddabaḷḷāpur are known to have issued gold coins. They are *paṇams.* They weigh 6 grains and have a diameter of 6 mms.

obv: A sitting figure, perhaps Śiva with four hands

rev: Chequered pattern with vertical and horizontal lines.

As they do not contain any legend, their attribution to the Pāḷegārs of Chikkabaḷḷāpur is conjectural.

(n) Coins of Ankuśarāya

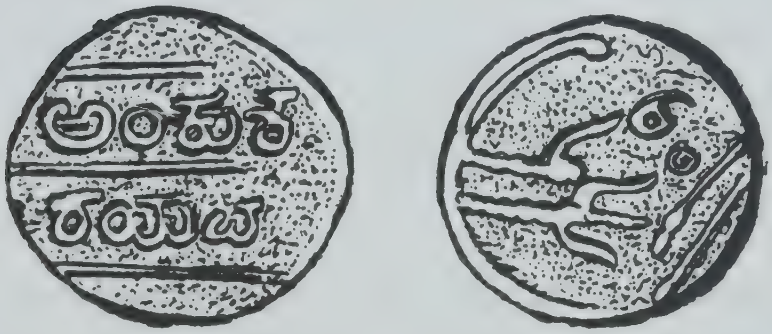
A copper coin of Ankuśarāya has been recently published.[18] It is circular with a diameter of 12 mms and its thickness is 3 mms.

obv: Two highly artistic *ankuśa* facing right; sun and moon and two weapons

rev: Two line Kannaḍa legend with three horizontal separating lines

ankuśa
rāyaru

It is difficult to ascribe this coin to any known ruler of the ancient period, because of the peculiar name. It does not find a place in the Vijayanagara dynasty also.



Coin of Ankuśarāya

As the palaeography of the legend suggests seventeenth century, this coin can not be attributed to any of the earlier dynasties. Ankuśarāya was the prime minister of Jagadēvarāya, a Pāḷēgār of Channapaṭṭaṇa near Bangalore. Actually he was the brother of the Pāḷēgār. This Ankuśarāya obtained a victory over the Mysore Waḍeyar Beṭṭada Arasu in the siege of Nāgamangala. This was an occasion for great jubilation for Ankuśarāya and he minted this coin with *ankuśa* symbolically representing his victory over the Mysore Waḍeyar. However, after sometime, the Mysore Waḍeyar Chāmarāja sent an army against Jagadēvarāya and Ankuśarāya was defeated in this battle. Thus the joy of victory of Ankuśarāya was short lived. As he is not heard of any more, it is quite likely that he died in the battle or shortly after that. Another copper coin of the same chief is in the possession of Kudanmal Jain. It is slightly different. The size of the *ankuśa* and the legend are also smaller. But in other respects, it resembles the coin mentioned above.

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13. *A History of South Kanara.*
14. *JNSI,* 27, p. 194.
15. Paper presented at the Fifth Annual Conference of the South Indian Numismatic Society held at Trichy in February 1995.
16. *SSIC,* VII, p. 113
17. *Chitradurgada Pāḷeyagāru,* Bangalore, 1924.
18. *SSIC.,* VI, p. 115.

CHAPTER XVI

COINS OF VIJAYANAGARA

The foundation of Vijayanagara empire is an epoch making event in the history of South India. South India witnessed great heights in political and cultural fields which it had not witnessed so far. Hence historians are fond of referring to this period as the golden age of South India. This appellation can easily be justified merely on the basis of the rich variety of gold coins which were issued by the kings of this dynasty.

The ideals and the origin of the foundation of this empire have been a subject of great controversy among the historians. Majority of the historians agree that the aim and purpose of the foundation of this empire was to bring back the glory of Hinduism and Hindu Dharma in the wake of Muslim aggressions. South India and Deccan being highly traditional in outlook, never reconciled to the aggressions of the Muslims.

The defeat of the Hoysaḷas, Sēvuṇas and the Kākatīyas at the hands of the aggressors was looked upon as a great challenge to their beliefs in social and religious spheres and hence were looking for an opportunity to establish their tradition on a firmer ground. This is easily reflected in their coinage also.

The affiliation of the founders, namely Harihara I and Bukka I has also been interpreted differently. Majority of the historians have now accepted the Karnataka origin as more authentic. In fact the Kannaḍa legend found on the coins of Harihara I and Bukka I and also the predominence of that legend over others is a point worth considering from this point of view.

Guided by the leadership and advice from the sage Vidyāraṇya, Harihara who belonged to the Sangama family, with the help of his four brothers founded the kingdom and ruled from 1336 to 1356 A.D.

He was not only a warrior but a great organiser and a leader. He was also a good administrator and introduced many progressive reforms. He understood the importance of the revenue in building up a great and vast empire and hence he took special care to restructure the administrative machinery, particularly those dealing with the administration of taxes. He also made it compulsory for the subjects to pay the taxes in coins and this gave a great impetus to the art of coinage and minting. Thus a major part of credit for the excellent coinage to follow in the post-Harihara period should go to Harihara I. He was succeeded by his brother Bukka I who ruled from 1356 to 1377 A.D. In fact with his brother Harihara I, he had already actively associated himself with the administration of the kingdom. With the help of his another brother Kampaṇṇa, he defeated the Sultan of Madurā. The image of god Ranganātha which had been removed to the temple of Tirupati fearing the Muslim invasions was brought back and re-installed in Śrīrangam.

Bukka was succeeded by his son Harihara II (1377-1404 A.D.). He was a worthy successor to his father and consolidated the kingdom. The next important king was Dēvarāya I who ruled from 1406 to 1442 A.D. He continued the wars against the rebellious powers and became successful. He paid a visit to Śringeri Śankarāchārya and offered gifts. After a short reign of two years by Vijayarāya, Dēvarāya II came to the throne and ruled from 1424 to 1446 A.D. He was an able ruler and fought three wars against the Bahmanis. He also fought against the Gajapatis of Orissa and expanded the kingdom up to Ceylon with the help of the great general Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka. Abdul Razzak visited Vijayanagara when Ḍēvarāya II was the monarch. He has left a good account of the conditions of Vijayanagara including the currency system. He says 'one might seek in vain throughout the whole of Hindusthan to find a more *Absolute Rai.* Ṭhe city of *Bidnagar* is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it in the whole world. The jewellers sell publicly in the bazars pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds.' He had a special fascination for the elephant sports and was even entitled *Gajabēṇṭekāra.* Obviously his coins reflect this aspect of his personality. He was succeeded by Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha who were weak rulers and taking advantage of this situation, Sāḷuva Narasimha usurped the throne and put an end to Sangama rule. Then came the regency of Narasa Nāyaka and finally they were overthrown by the Tuḷuva dynasty in 1505 A.D.

Krishṇadēvarāya was the most illustrious ruler of this dynasty. He ruled from 1509 to 1529 A.D. and made the Vijayanagara empire a power to reckon with in the whole of South India. He infused fresh enthusiasm and vigour among his people and began his career by consolidating his internal affairs. Later he defeated the Bahmanis and the Adil Shahis, Chiefs of Ummattūr and Qutb Shah of Golkōṇḍa. He also captured Raichur and Gulbarga. He also intervened in the affairs of Ceylon.

His invasion of Orissa was a great success. Pratāparudra Gajapati had managed to occupy Udayagiri and Koṇḍavīḍu forts. In 1513 A.D. Krishṇadēvarāya inflicted a severe defeat on the Gajapati king and with the help of minister Timmarasa took possession of the fort of Koṇḍavīḍu. After defeating Gajapatis he brought the image of Krishṇa from Orissa as a war trophy and installed it in the Krishṇasvāmi temple at Hampi. On his way he paid a visit to Tirupati and performed the *Kanakābhisheka* to Lord Venkaṭēśvara, with the help of gold coins specially minted for this purpose. He also made a large number of gifts to this temple among which the *navaratna prabhāvaḷi* is the most important and luxurious one. He also presented a *navaratna kirīṭa.* The *navaratna prabhāvaḷi* is described to have consisted of 25 *kīrtimukha* leaves, 17835 *vommachchecha beads,* 7978 weight of solid gold and gold wire. The *navaratnas* used are 81 rubies, 10994 red-stones, 754 emeralds, 530 sapphires, 40 cat's eye, 45 agates, 74 topazes, 920 diamonds, 3933 pearls, 6 corals and 30 conch-shells. This shows Krishṇadēvarāya's special devotion to the lord of Tirupati- Tirumala. He was a great patron of the *Ashṭadiggajas* of Telugu literature. He also built many temples and added new structures to the older temples and erected huge and tall *gōpuras* known as *Rāyagōpurams.* All this glory is reflected in the coins of Krishṇadēvarāya.

Krishṇadēvarāya was succeeded by Acchyutarāya who ruled from 1529 to 1542 A.D. He was a peace-loving king and took great interest in religious activities. The death of Acchyutarāya was followed by a dispute for the throne in which Sadāśivarāya finally became victorious. He ruled from 1543 to 1570 A.D. The great battle of Rakkasa Tangaḍi took place and Vijayanagara king was completely routed.

After six years of anarchy and confusion, Tirumala who had taken refuge in Penugoṇḍa became king (1570-78 A.D.). He became the *defacto* ruler of the post-battle Vijayanagara and started the Āravīḍu rule. Hampi was ruined so much that he shifted his capital permanently to Penugoṇḍa. But he had to face internal revolts and external troubles and hence could not be an effective king. Then came Śrīrangarāya II (1578-86 A.D.) who could not prove to be a match for the great work of restoration. He was succeeded by his brother Venkaṭapatirāya I who ruled from 1586 to 1614 A.D. He was the greatest of the Āravīḍu family. He defeated many enemies and extended the boundary of his empire. In fact he revived the glory of Vijayanagara for a short period. He was a patron of literature and fine arts.

After his death civil war broke out and weak rulers like Venkaṭapatirāya II and Śrīrangarāya III ruled without any special achievements. By 1672 A.D. this great empire was completely wiped out of its existence.

The three centuries of the Vijayanagara rule heralded a new era in administration of South India. The most important aspect was the proper arrangement for the collection of taxes and also the proper use of the resources for the various items of expenditure. This had a great impact on the system of coinage of the period. This is easily reflected in the number of gold coins and references to gold coins in inscriptions and also the references in the writings of the foreign travellers. The religious conditions of the period was such that it gave opportunity for all religions to develop on their own accord without hindering the development of other religions. Grants to Śaiva and

Vaishṇava temples were given alike by the rulers. The only religious misunderstanding that we hear during this period was between Jainas and Śrīvaishṇavas which was amicably settled by Bukka I. In fact, this summarises the attitude of the Vijayanagara kings towards religious tolerance. Another important factor was the harmonious development of the three schools of Vēdānta, Advaita, Dvaita and Viśishṭādvaita during the period. Vidyāraṇya of the Advaitic maṭha of Śringēri, Madhvāchārya of the Dvaita maṭha and Vēdānta Deśika of the Viśishṭādvaita received equal respect and regard from these rulers, though Vidyāraṇya was the spiritual leader for the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire. This type of tolerance is easily reflected in the coinage of the period also.

In the field of literature Sanskrit, Kannaḍa and Telugu flourished alike. Inscriptions were written in all these three languages and scripts in addition to Tamil. However, their sign manual was *'Virūpāksha'* in Kannaḍa. Thus their coins also contain legends in the three scripts of the period. This brief sketch of the political and cultural achievements of the age of Vijayanagara will be useful in understanding the coinage of the period in proper perspective. South India had a well established coinage tradition by the time the Vijayanagara empire was born; but sudden developments were noticed during the period which gave the coinage of the period a unique position. Harihara and Bukka I, the originators of the Vijayanagara kingdom had the coinage of the Hoysaḷas, Sēvuṇas, Kākatīyas and the Later Pāṇḍyas for their model. Among these four kingdoms the Hoysaḷas were the nearest to Harihara not only from the point of geography but also from culture. Naturally Harihara and Bukka derived great inspiration from the Hoysaḷa coins which represented religious significance and purpose so close to the hearts of the founders of Vijayanagara. Even the names of the coins of the Hoysaḷas such as *gadyāṇa, paṇa, hāga, vīsa, bēḷe* were literally lifted by the Vijayanagara rulers. Coins of Hoysaḷa Vishṇuvardhana and Narasimha are so close to the early coins of Vijayanagara kingdom that one can not distinguish between the two but for the legends. The goddess Durgā on these coins and the legend with or without horizontal lines separating each line was obviously a good choice for the early Vijayanagara coins. But Durgā was a goddess of Śaiva pantheon and as Harihara I was greatly interested in Hindu pantheon in general, the best choice for him was Hanumān, who by any consideration is a non-sectarian deity. In fact Hanumān is considered a unifying deity in Hinduism and some of the earlier South Indian dynasties had Hanumān as their *lānchana.* Harihara whose first duty was to unify the Hindu forces naturally chose Hanumān as the most important deity on his coins in preference to Durgā of the Hoysaḷa coins.

Though the Sēvuṇas were also closer to the founders of Vijayanagara, the latter did not think of selecting the former coins because they were of the *padmaṭanka* variety and naturally unsuitable for the mass production which became necessary during the period. The coinage of the later Pāṇḍyas was far removed in space to make any significant impact on the early coins of Vijayanagara. Thus the origin of the Vijayanagara coinage has to be traced to the Hoysaḷa coinage as far as typology is concerned. The rulers of Vijayanagara made minor changes in weight and size depending upon their actual need.

The so called scarcity of coins in the early medieval South India was completely removed by the emergence of the Vijayanagara empire. Realising the importance of the State revenue in gold *(Suvarṇādāya)* Harihara I, introduced many administrative reforms. Among those which directly concerned the system of coinage was an order which made the subjects to pay the taxes in cash and not in kind.[1] This order was responsible for the mass production of the coins of various denominations. Fractions of coins including small coins became a necessity if people had to pay small amount of taxes. Each king not only continued the minting of the coins of his predecessors, but also introduced the practice of minting new types in his own name with new gods and goddesses according to his choice and preference. This tendency was also responsible for the enrichment of the variety of coins.

A separate Department to look after the mints and minting operation was established by Harihara.[2] There was a central mint and smaller mints were established at various provincial capitals and other important places. The central mint was located at Hampi itself as testified to by foreign writers. Other mints were located at Bārakūr, Mangaḷūr, Gaṇḍikōṭa, Penukoṇḍa, Tirupati, Gutti, Ādoni, Tāḍapatri, etc. Because of the need for the mass production of coins, to augment the sources of supply of the State, the government allowed some select feudatories also to mint their own coins. Perhaps local bodies also minted coins for their own limited use. Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, a feudatory of Vijayanagara rulers minted his own coins subject to the sovereignty of the Vijayanagara empire. The most important duty of the *adhikāri* of the mint was to test the purity and the weight of the coins. They appointed goldsmiths as agents for this purpose. They were proficient in the art of testing the fineness of the gold. They always carried a touchstone and a wax like substance and pressed the gold coins on the touchstone and detected the fineness of the gold. They also carried a small balance which was highly accurate and would show the difference of the weight of a hair. The whole test kit was so small that it could be carried in the pocket of the goldsmiths. Thus the government ensured proper regulations of the correct weight and fineness of the coins.

Now, we may refer to the names and the relative values of the coins in the Vijayanagara empire. They issued coins in gold, silver and copper. Gold coins were predominent and the revenue of the State treasury and important gifts were always reckoned in terms of gold coins. Though we do not have precise information on the gold content of the coins, we can get a fair idea from the inscriptions and foreign travellers. Though some travellers state that the gold was base in these coins, others make us believe that gold was pure up to 80 to 90 percent.

The names of the coins that were in circulations during the period were *gadyāṇa, varaha, pon, pagoḍa, pratāpa, kāṭi, paṇa, chinna, māḍa, hāga, vīsa, bēḷe, rūka* and *kāsu.* The highest gold coin was *gadyāṇa,* also referred to as *pon* and *pagoḍa.* It generally weighed 52 grains. The only exception to this was the double *gadyāṇa* or double *varaha* also called *Doḍḍa varaha* issued by Kṛishṇadēvarāya in honour of Tirupati Venkaṭēśa. Its weight was 120 grains. The diameter of the *gadyāṇa* was half an inch. Generally it had god or goddess or religious symbol on the obverse and the legend in Nāgari, Kannaḍa or Telugu. A large number of varieties of *gadyāṇas* and *varahas* named after the mint, the issuer, emblem, god or the goddess have been mentioned in the epigraphs and literary works such as *Bārakūru gadyāṇa, Śuddha varaha, Chakra varaha* etc. which have been discussed elsewhere.

The next gold coin was *pratāpa* also called *partarb* and *pardao* by the foreign travellers. In value it was equal to half of the *gadyāṇa* or *varaha* and weighed 26 grains. The coin is styled *pratāpa* because the word *pratāpa* along with the name of the issuer formed the legend part on the reverse. In fact, it was Harihara II, who first introduced this title *pratāpa* and his successors preferred this instead of the ordinary term *vīra.* From the references of the foreign travellers it becomes clear that this was a very popular coin and even the amount at the treasury was calculated in terms of these coins. As this was their own innovation, the Vijayanagara kings might have taken pride in frequently referring to this coin. Varieties of this coin like *saṇṇa pratāpa* are known from inscriptions.

Kāṭi was the next lower gold coin. It was half of a *pratāpa* and one fourth of a *gadyāṇa* and weighed about 13 grains. Quarter *varaha* is not only referred to in inscriptions but they are also found in plenty. From this it becomes clear that *kāṭi* was also a popular coin sought after in various transactions. As *kāṭi* literally means one fourth, *kāṭi gadyāṇa* refers to the coin *kāṭi* itself, mentioned in terms of the value of the *gadyāṇa* or *varaha.*

Paṇa was another popular gold coin which was equal to one tenth of a *gadyāṇa.* Its weight was 5 to 6 grains. It is also referred to as *paṇam* or *fanam.* Even the copper coin is also called *paṇam* and hence one has to be careful in understanding the exact connotation of this term. In most of the smaller transactions of taxes and gifts, *paṇa* was the coin generally used as it was neither too big nor too small in value. Some travellers give the value of *paṇa* as equal to one twentieth of a *varaha.* Perhaps they were referring to double *varaha* coins in such cases.

Chinnam is a gold coin, the value of which was 6.5 grains. It was one eighth of a *varaha.* The mention of the frequency of this coin in inscriptions is very low and it was generally confined to Telugu speaking areas where this coin was popular even from the earlier times.

Māḍa or *Maḍai* was another gold coin which was also in circulation mostly in the Tamil and Telugu speaking areas of the kingdom of Vijayanagara. Its mention in Kannaḍa inscriptions is very rare. This was a very popular coin from the period of the Choḷas, Eastern Chālukyas and other dynasties and naturally the people of the area were quite familiar with this coin. Hence the Vijayanagara rulers issued the coin *Māḍai* in those areas. This was equal to a *gadyāṇa* or *varaha* in value. However, if its mention in inscriptions is any indication, it has to be stated that this coin was slowly going out of use in the period, as *varaha* and *gadyāṇa* were more popular.

Hāga or *pāga* was the next gold coin and it was one fourth of a *paṇa* in value. It weighed 1.5 grains. *Muppāga,* meaning three fourths of a *pāga* is mentioned in literary works. Perhaps that was used only in account books as we have not discovered such a coin.

Bēḷe was the smallest gold coin and it was half of a *hāga* and hence it weighed 0.75 grains. *Rūka* as a gold coin is mentioned rarely in the Telugu inscriptions of the period. Its exact value is not known. *Vīsa* was another gold coin of small value.

Tāra was the only silver coin during the period. It is referred to as *Taurh, Tār, Tāre* by foreign travellers. Its exact value is not known as there is a difference of opinion among the travellers on this point. Varthema refers to this coin as equal to one sixteenth of a *paṇa* whereas Abdul Razzak values it as one sixth of *paṇa.* It is quite possible that the two writers were referring to two different silver coins one of which was one sixth and the other one sixteenth of a gold *paṇa.* This coin is not mentioned frequently in inscriptions.

There is no precise information on the copper coins of the period though a large number of copper coins of different weights have been discovered so far. The copper coins are referred to as *kāsu, jiṭāl, paṇam* and *kāṇi* or *kāgini.* From the copper coins discovered so far, the highest coin appears to be one with a weight of about 250 grains and the smallest was 15 grains. The weights of other copper coins are 160, 125 50, 40, 30, and 25 grains. *kāṇi, Duggāṇi* and *Are Kāṇi* are often referred to in literary works of the period. But their exact weight is not known. If the *kāṇi* weight 125 grains, the coin which weighted 250 grains should have been *Duggāṇi.*

The following table emerges from the details of the various coins and their relative values as known from various sources.

Gold Coins

Doḍḍa varaha = *Doḍḍa gadyāṇa* = 2 *varahas* = 120 grains
1 *gadyāṇa* = 1 *varaha* = 1 *pon* or *hon* = *pagoḍa* = 52 grains
1 *varaha* = 2 *pratāpas* = 52 grains = 1 *māḍa*
1 *pratāpa* = 2 *kāṭis* = 26 grains = *half varaha*
1 *kāṭi* = 13 grains = *quarter varaha*
1 *varaha* = 10 *paṇa* (each 5-6 grains)
1 *chinna* = one eighth *varaha* = 6.5 grains
1 *paṇa* = 4 *hāga* = 5-6 grains
1 *hāga* = 2 *bēḷe* = 1.5 grains
1 *bēḷe* = 0.75 grain.

Silver Coins

Tār = *Taurh* = *Tāre* = *Tara* = One sixth of *paṇa*
Tāra (another variety) = one sixteenth of *paṇa*

Copper coins

Duggāni = 2 *kāṇi* or *kākiṇi* = 250 grains
kāṇi = 125 grains = 2 *Are kāṇi*
Jiṭāl = one third of *Tāra*
Kāsu = 30 grains
Are Kāsu = 15 grains

Another important aspect of the coins of Vijayanagara is the variety of symbols on the obverse and reverse. They can be divided into three groups such as symbols, animals and gods and goddesses. All the three have religious significance and express the religious leaning of the kings who issued them. The symbols are *śankha, chakra, ankuśa, khaḍga ḍamaru, paraśu,* whereas the animals include *garuḍa,* bull, elephant, *gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa, simha* and *varaha.* The gods and goddesses are Śiva, Brahma, Vishṇu, Narasimha with their respective consorts and Venkaṭēśvara, Bālakrishṇa and Śrī Rāma.

The Vijayanagara kings belonged to four different families such as Sangama, Sāḷuva, Tuḷuva and Āravīḍu. But the coins of Sāḷuva family have not been discovered so far. Hence the symbols and the gods and goddesses that we find on the coins can be better understood by the following table.

Hanumān	Sangama	--	Āravīḍu
Garuḍa	-do-	Tuḷuva	-do-
Elephant	-do-	--	-do-
Nandi	-do-	Tuluva	-do-
Śankha	--	--	-do-
Chakra	--	--	-do-
Boar	--	--	-do-
Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa	-	Tuḷuva	--
Venkateśvara	-	-do-	Āravīḍu
Śiva-Pārvati	Sangama	-do-	--

Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa	Sangama	Tuḷuva	--
Lakshmī-Narasimha	-do-	--	--
Śrī Rāma	--	--	Āravīḍu
Brahma-Saraswati	Sangama	--	--

This shows that the Sangama rulers initially preferred single deities but later included the deities with consorts. Venkaṭēśvara of Tirupati seems to have become important from the time of the Tuḷuvas and enjoyed the same position during Āravīḍu also. Śrī Rāma seems to have become important only during the Āravīḍu period. The richness and variety are seen in the coins of almost all the dynasties. Śaiva and Vaishṇava faiths seem to have enjoyed equal patronage from the kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty. Though we have Jaina monuments during the period, no Jaina symbol was used on the coins.

Each king of the dynasty had his own preference for the symbols and also for the gods and goddesses. This becomes clear from the following table.

Harihara I : Hanumān
Garuḍa
Tiger
Bukka I : Hanumān
Harihara II : Śiva-Pārvatī
Lakshmī
Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa
Lakshmī-Narasimha
Brahma-Sarasvati
Garuḍa
Bukka II : Nandi
Dēvarāya I : Śiva-Pārvatī
Garuḍa
Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa
Nandi
elephant
Vijayarāya I : Nandi

Dēvarāya II : Śiva-Pārvatī
Elephant
Śankha - Chakra - Khaḍga
Vijayarāya I : Elephant
Mallikārjuna : Elephant
Nandi
Vīra Narasimha : Lion
Vyāḷa
Kṛishṇadēvarāya : Venkaṭēśvara
Bālakrishṇa
Śiva-Pārvatī
Lakshmī
Garuḍa
Nandi
Achyutarāya : Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa
Varāha
Sadāśivarāya : Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa
Śiva-Pārvati
Nandi
Garuḍa
Horse
Rāmarāja : Nandi
Venkaṭēśvara
Tirumalarāya : Rāma-Sīta
Śankha-Chakra
Garuḍa
Varāha
Elephant
Rāmarāya Venkaṭādri : Garuḍa
Śrīrangarāya I : Venkaṭēśvara
Garuḍa
Nandi
Vishṇu
Krishṇa (dancing)
Hanumān
Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa

Venkaṭapatirāya II : Venkaṭēśvara
Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa
Garuḍa
Nandi
Hanumān
Śrīrangarāya II : Nandi
Venkaṭēśvara
Venkaṭapatirāya III : Venkaṭēśa with Śrīdēvi-Bhūdēvi
Śrīrangarāya III : Venkaṭēśvara

From the above it becomes clear that kings issued coins with equal consideration for Vaishṇavism and Śaivism. If we go by the number of kings who used these symbols, the honour goes to Nandi as atleast six different rulers used that emblem. Garuḍa and Śiva-Pārvati occupy the next place with five kings each for that motif. Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa was used by four kings, so also Venkaṭēśvara. Hanumān is found on the coins of three kings only.

Another aspect that attracts our attention in the above scheme of gods and goddesses is the portrayal of consorts as in the case of Śiva with Pārvati, Lakshmi with Narasimha, Lakshmi with Nārāyaṇa and Brahma with Sarasvati. In the Vijayanagara period Hindu religion had undergone a change and the worship of the consort had become a part of the religious practice. This is very well reflected in the temple architecture of the period.

In fact all the four gods with their consorts were first introduced on the coins by Harihara II. Harihara I and Bukka I who were the early rulers issued coins with Hanumān and Garuḍa. That was the time of experimentation by the new rulers and uncertain of their position could not venture to portray the gods with their consorts. By the time Harihara II came to the throne, the empire had been established and Harihara II did not hesitate to make the coins more religious and as if to satisfy all the groups of the Hindus, Śiva, Vishṇu and Brahma with their consorts were boldly portrayed by him.

Vijayanagara empire was a harmonious blend of Advaita, Dvaita and Viśishṭādvaita, represented by Vidyāranya, Vyāsarāya and Vēdānta Dēśika respectively. Hence the three gods Nandi, Hanumān and Garuḍa were chosen to be portrayed on the coins so that each of these three dominant groups of the Brahmins would not have any cause to complain in this behalf.

Another important factor of religious life of the Hindus is the cult of Śrī Rāma. Though we do not find any exclusive temple for Śrī Rāma in the pre-Vijayanagara period in Karnataka, this important Hindu deity has been enjoying the status of worship as found on the walls of the temples, even from the time of the Gangas of Talkad.[3] It can be said that there is no Hoysaḷa temple of importance which does not have one or more panels of Rāmāyaṇa story carved in it. Apart from the Hazara Rāma temple, there are many Rāmāyaṇa freizes in the temples of Vijayanagara. Thus the influence of Śrī Rāma was growing rapidly in the art and literature of South India during the Vijayanagara period. The change of the capital from Hampi to Penukoṇḍa during the period of Tirumalāraya was also a factor for the change. This popularity of the cult of Śrī Rāma is reflected in the coins of Tirumalāraya.

The growing influence of God Venkaṭēśvara of Tirumala (Tirupati) on the social and religious life of South India is an important aspect of religious history. Though kings showed their devotion to this god by literally granting gifts and paying visits to the temple, Kṛishṇadēvarāya was not content by these usual gestures of devotion. He performed the *Kanakābhishēka* to Venkaṭēśvara and for this purpose he minted gold coins with portrait of this God on the obverse. That these were not just ordinary coins is proved by the fact that their weight was more than the double of the ordinary standard gold coins. The Venkaṭēśvara type of coins of Kṛishṇadēvarāya weigh 120 grains as against the ordinary *gadyāṇas* of 52 grains. That this is not an isolated event is attested to by the fact other kings Śrīrangarāya I, Venkaṭapatirāya II and Śrīrangarāya III continued this tradition of the Venkaṭēśvara type of coins. These coins are also important for the iconographic study of the God of Tirumala.

The reverse of the Vijayanagara coins are generally meant for the legends. These legends are written in Kannaḍa, Nāgari and Telugu scripts. Though it is not our intention to discuss the origin of Vijayanagara here, it has to be admitted that the founders of Vijayanagara namely Harihara I and Bukka I used Kannaḍa and Nāgari legends on their coins. This may be taken to indicate the Kannda or Karnataka bias of the founders of the dynasty. Only the rulers at the fag end of the dynasty used Telugu legends. Most of the other rulers in between also used Kannaḍa and Nāgari legends. The legends generally included the name of the issuer or some of his titles. The first two rulers used the word *Vira* along with their names but from the time of Harihara II, the simple adjective was removed and was replaced by a more prestigious word *Pratāpa.* The legends are generally written in two or three lines, at times with horizontal lines separating each line of the legend. The following table expresses the frequency of the script of the legends on the Vijayanagara coins.

Harihara I	Kannaḍa	Nāgari	--
Bukka I	Kannaḍa	Nāgari	--
Harihara II	Kannaḍa	Nāgari	--
Bukka II	--	Nāgari	--
Dēvarāya I	Kannaḍa	Nāgari	--
Vijayarāya	Kannaḍa	--	--
Dēvarāya II	Kannaḍa	Nāgari	--
Vijayarāya II	Kannaḍa	--	--
Mallikārjuna	Kannaḍa	Nāgari	--
Vīra Narasimha	--	Nāgari	--
Krishṇadēvarāya	Kannaḍa	Nāgari	Telugu
Achyutarāya	Kannaḍa	Nāgari	--
Sadāśivarāya	Kannaḍa	Nāgari	--
Rāmarāja	Kannaḍa	Nāgari	--
Tiurmalarāya	Kannaḍa	Nāgari	--

Śrīrangarāya I	Kannaḍa	Nāgari	Telugu
Venkaṭapatirāya	Kannaḍa	Nāgari	--
Srīrangarāya II	--	--	Telugu
Venkaṭapatirāya II	--	--	Telugu
Rāmarāja Venkatādri	Kannaḍa	--	--
Śrīrangarāya III	Kannaḍa	Nāgari	--

The letters of the legend are neatly executed as can be seen in the coins of Harihara, particularly in Kannaḍa legend. In fact they look elegant and artistic. This is the case with Nāgari script also.

From the technical and artistic points of view, the coins of Vijayanagara show a marked improvement over the Hoysaḷa coins. The gold coins were minted with great care, by preparing the correct mould. The depth of the moulds is easily visible in the gold coins. The portrait of gods, goddesses, symbols and animals are artistic and show the various parts and attributes in detail. The *kirīṭa, hāra* and other ornaments are easily seen on the coins. But the copper coins do not exhibit some of these qualities as they were minted not only at the central mint which obviously was well equipped, but also at the provincial mints in different parts of the kingdom. More often the legend in part is out of flan and look crude. Generally they are thick and dumpy and do not give the impression of elegant coins. Mass production of these coins was perhaps the cause of this defect.

The epigraphs of the Vijayanagara period written in Sanskrit, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Tamil contain very valuable information on various aspects of the Vijayanagara coins and currency system. Unfortunately this data has not been pressed into service by the numismatists so far, for understanding the currency system of the Vijayanagara period. The most important information that the epigraphs supply is related to a variety of coins which are mostly descriptive. These are distinguished on the basis of the mints, symbols, metals, values and others. As the *gadyāṇa* was the most popular coin of the Vijayanagara period, we may examine the varieties of the *gadyāṇa* in the light of the epigraphical data.

From a perusal of the inscriptions of the period, it becomes clear that *gadyāṇa* and *varaha* were the most popular coins of the period. It is generally believed that *gadyāṇa* and *varaha* denoted the same coin of gold equal in weight and value. But in the inscriptions the expression *varaha gadyāṇa* is used in many instances. This gives scope to doubt the generally accepted opinion that *varaha* and *gadyāṇa* are synonymous. Perhaps this was to emphasise the point that this was a gold coin. It may also be explained in a different way. *Varaha* of the earlier period, no doubt made of gold, necessarily did not contain the emblem of a boar, as the early Chālukyan coins did. However, the Vijayanagara rulers issued *gadyāṇa* coins with boar on the obverse. Hence to differentiate these coins they might have used an expression which explains that the *gadyāṇa* in question is not a traditional *varaha* without boar but a coin with boar on it.

It has been conjectured that *gadyāṇa* as a coin was used in revenue transactions, such as sale of land, payment of tax, gift in cash to temples, etc. and *varaha* was used for other social transactions like *upanayana,* marriage etc. But a detailed study of the inscriptions of the period does not support this view. *Gadyāṇa* and *varaha* are used as coins in both types of revenue, social, administrative and religious transactions without any difference.

The word *kāṭi* is used not only with *gadyāṇa* but also with other coins like *kāṭi hon, kāṭi haṇa* and *kāṭi varaha.* The word *kāṭi* means one fourth and hence *kāṭi gadyāṇa* should be taken to mean one fourth of a *gadyāṇa.* In fact gold coins of the period weigh 52, 26 and 13 grains and obviously the *kāṭi gadyāṇa* or *kāṭi varaha* weighed 13 grains. As coins of this weight are found in plenty, it may be easily assumed that *kāṭi gadyāṇa* as a coin was minted and it was quite popular during the period.

Ardha kāṭi gadyāṇa also occurs in epigraphs of the period and obviously it is half of a *kāṭi gadyāṇa* or one eighth of a *gadyāṇa.* No such coin has come to light so far and hence it may be assumed that it refers to a fraction which was obviously used for accounting and does not denote a coin as such. But if the weight is taken into consideration, *ardha kāṭi gadyāṇa* is nearer to the weight of a *paṇa*, the weight of which was 5.2 grains, and it was one tenth of a *gadyāṇa.*

Now, we may refer to *Doḍḍa gadyāṇa* [4] and *Chikka gadyāṇa,*[5] literally meaning big or large *gadyāṇa and* small *gadyāṇa.* It is not known if the adjective refers to the weight or the size of the coins in question. The ordinary *gadyāṇa* of the Vijayanagara period weighed 52-56 grains. However, Krishṇadēvarāya minted a special coin in honour of Lord Venkaṭēśvara of Tirupati which weighed 117 grains and it is generally referred to as double *gadyāṇa* or double *varaha.* Hence, it has to be surmised that this double *gadyāṇa* coin became famous as *Doḍḍa gadyāṇa* or *big gadyāṇa* or *large gadyāṇa.* This is literally true of the size also. The normal *gadyāṇa* coin measured about half an inch in diameter whereas the double *gadyāṇa* measured three fourths of an inch. Hence both by weight and size this coin can be characterised as *big* or *large gadyāṇa* and hence the name *Doḍḍa gadyāṇa.* In contrast to this, the word *Chikka gadyāṇa* refers to the ordinary *gadyāṇa* which is smaller in size as well as lesser in weight.

Naming the coins after the place of mint was also followed during the Vijayanagara period. Though we do not know the location of all the mints that worked during the period, on the basis of the names of the coins that are associated with the mints, we can surmise that the mints were located at Bārakūru, Mangaḷūru, Tirupati, Adoṇi, Tāḍapatri, Gutti, Nellore and Madurai. Bārakūru and Mangaḷūr were the provincial capitals of South Kanara during the Vijayanagara period and the *gadyāṇas* that were minted at these two places are known as *Bārakūru gadyāṇa* and *Mangaḷūru gadyāṇa* respectively.[6] That Adoṇi (Ādavāni) and Tāḍapatri had mints where the coin *honnu* was minted is known by a Kannaḍa work, which deals with the Pāḷegārs of Chitradurga.[7] The work refers to *Ādvāni honnu* and *Tāḍapatri honnu* along with some Vijayanagara coins. *Hons* minted at Gutti which was also an important provincial capital of the Vijayanagara rulers are known as *Gutti hon* and is referred to in a Kannaḍa work, *Mānaumichaupada.*[8] Some coins have on the obverse letters *Ne* and

Ma and they have been taken by some as representing Nellore and Madurai respectively.

Referring to coins by the symbols they contained was also resorted to during the Vijayanagara period. There is a reference to *Chakra gadyāṇa.*[9] Literally it means a *gadyāṇa* with a *chakra* on it. However, it has to be noted that no Vijayanagara coin contains exclusively a *chakra* on it. But *chakra* is found along with other symbols like *śankha.* A copper coin of Tirumalarāya contains on the obverse a *śankha* to the left and a *chakra* to the right. But this is a copper coin and not a gold coin and hence it can not be the intended *gadyāṇa.* Perhaps a gold coin with a *chakra* is yet to be discovered by numismatists. However, the gold coins of Harihara II showing Lakshmī-Narasimha, Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa do contain *śankha* and *chakra* as attributes. Such coins were issued by other kings also.

Equally interesting is the *Kaṭhāri Ankuśa gadyāṇa* mentioned in an inscription of Harihara II from Puttige and dated 1389 A.D.[10] Literally *kaṭhāri* and *ankuśa* mean a dagger and goad. As both are generally associated with elephants, it is quite likely that this coin refers to the *gadyāṇas* issued by Dēvarāya II. Though a dagger has been recognised on these coins *ankuśa* has not been seen on these coins.

Mānaumichaupada refers to two more coins of this type, namely, *Beṇṇemuddenāṇya* and *Tirupati haṇa.* Literally they mean a coin of lump of butter and a coin of Tirupati respectively. We know that it was Krishṇadēvarāya who after his victory over Orissa brought an image of Krishṇa and built a temple of Krishṇa at Hampi in 1514-15 A.D. As this was a great event worth commemorating, he minted gold coins of 52, 26 and 13 grains in weight with a portrait of Bālakrishṇa on the obverse. Bālakrishṇa holds a lump of butter in his right hand. This coin should have fascinated the contemporary and later people so much that it came to be called as *lump of butter coin (Beṇṇemudde nāṇya).*

Likewise, Krishṇadēvarāya had great devotion to the lord of Tirupati and he performed *Kanakābhishēka* to Venkaṭēśvara and on that occasion minted double *gadyāṇa* or *varaha (doḍḍa gadyāṇa)* coins for this purpose. An inscription from Tirupati also states that Krishṇadēvarāya presented to the deity a *navaratna prabhāvaḷi* or *makara toraṇa* set with nine kinds of precious stones, even the weight and number of which are mentioed.[11] On the obverse of this coin is Venkaṭēśvara under the *makara toraṇa* and because of this portrayal, this coin became famous as *Tirupati coin.* Śrīrangarāya II, Venkaṭapatirāya II and III and Śrīrangarāya III also issued coins portraying the god of Tirupati. Their portrayal is different from that found on the coins of Krishṇadēvarāya. Of all these, the coins of Krishṇadēvarāya is considered most beautiful and elegant and hence there is no surprise that the future generations looked upon this coin as sacred and called it as *Tirupati coin.* However, it is not known definitely whether these coins were minted in the mint at Tirupati itself.

Just like a combination of *varaha gadyāṇa* we have references to *pratāpa gadyāṇa* and *pon gadyāṇa. Pratāpa* as a coin was introduced by Harihara II. It had on the obverse the legend *Pratāpa* followed by the name of the king. It was half a *gadyāṇa* in value and weighed 26 grains. Hence such coins became famous as *Pratāpa gadyāṇas* in course of time. Similarly *Pon* or *Hon* was a coin and was equal to the *gadyāṇa* or *varaha* in value and weighed 52 grains. However, the significance of the combination *pon gadyāṇa* can not be understood without any further detail from the epigraph which simply mentions it. If *pon* is taken in its literal meaning as gold then the combination may mean gold *gadyāṇa.* Even in this case the word gold is redundant.

It is also difficult to understand the meaning of *pāṭi gadyāṇa.* The word *pāṭi* literally means old as against current. The question is what would have been the position of old coins in transactions. Because of the gold content they might have been honoured as coins but nevertheless they had become old, meaning not current. Hence *pāṭi gadyāṇa* was an old coin i.e., a coin of a previous king or even a previous dynasty.

Combining the name of the coin with the name of that tax was in practice during this period. Hence we have terms like *kuḷa gadyāṇa, hiṭṭuvaḷi gadyāṇa* and *samudāya gadyāṇa* being mentioned in inscriptions. An inscription from Gubbi of the time of Harihara mentions *kuḷa gadyāṇa* and *hiṭṭavaḷi gadyāṇa* as taxes. Similarly *samudāya gadyāṇa* is a tax to be paid in *gadyāṇa* currency by the *samudāya* or the group of the villages. *Bāhira gadyāṇa* literally means an outside (foreign) *gadyāṇa.* Perhaps *gadyāṇas* minted outside a province were considered *bāhira* by other provinces. Similarly the meaning of the term *Rēkha gadyāṇa* is not known. The word *rēkha* or *rēkhai* (Tamil) also occurs in combination as *Rēkhai pon.*

Now we may turn our attention to the varieties of the *varahas* that occur in inscriptions of the period. First of all we may consider the three terms *Doḍḍa varaha, ghaṭṭi varaha* and *śuddha varaha.* The first variety as already explained in the case of the *gadyāṇa* refers to the double *varaha* of 117 grains minted by Kṛishṇadēvarāya, as against the ordinary *varaha* of 52-53 grains. In both weight and size it was a big *(doḍḍa)* *varaha* as it weighed 117 grains and measured 0.75" in diameter. Hence to distinguish this coin from the ordinary *varahas* of 52-53 grains and of 0.45" in diameter, this term *doḍḍa varaha* was used in the period. An inscription of 1501 A.D. mentions a gift of sixty *Doḍḍa varahas* for the preparation of a *kalaśa.* Another epigraph of the time of Sadāśivarāya also refers to a gift of thirty five *Doḍḍa varahas* as interest on 350 *varahas.*

The literal meaning of the word *ghaṭṭi varaha* is *solid varaha* and this does not help us in understanding the real meaning and nature of this coin. This is also found in slightly other forms such as *Nija ghaṭṭi varaha, Hiriya nija ghaṭṭi varaha.* Both these words are used to emphasise the nature of the *Ghaṭṭi varaha.* As the word *hiriya* used here also means elder, bigger and senior, it may be surmised that it is the same as *doḍḍa varaha* to which reference has been made above. In that case *doḍḍa varaha* and *ghaṭṭi varaha* may be taken as referring to the same *varaha* of 117 grains.

The word *śuddha varaha* means *pure varaha.* Obviously it refers to the percentage of gold content in the coin. In the absence of any analysis of the gold content in the coins of the Vijayanagara period, it is difficult to understand this term. However, inscriptional evidence comes to our aid in partially understanding this point. An epigraph of the period refers to three different gold contents of the coins as eight, eight and a half and nine.[12] It is also known from Barbosa that some gold coins were rather base. The inspectors also carried touch stones to detect the fineness of the gold coins. From these references, it can easily be surmised that, fineness of gold coins differed. Hence the term *śuddha varaha* refers to those coins which had the highest percentage of gold content in them.

Chakra vahara is obviously the same as *chakra gadyāṇa* which contained a *chakra* on the coin *varaha.*[13] *Venkaṭarāya varaha* and *Hanumantarāyi varaha* are those coins which contained the portrait of Venkaṭēśvara and Hanumān on them. We know that Krishṇadēvarāya introduced the practice of minting the portrait of Venkaṭēśvara and this was continued by the later rulers Śrīrangarāya, Venkaṭapatirāya I and Venkaṭpatirāya II. Coins with Hanumān was minted by rulers like Harihara I, Bukka I and Venkaṭapatirāya I. *Gaṇḍikōṭa varaha* is the coin minted at Gaṇḍikōṭa a famous fort, now in Cuddappah district of Andhra Pradesh. From this it becomes clear that there was a Vijayanagara mint in Gaṇḍikōṭa. *Saṇṇa Pratāpa* is mentioned in an inscription of 1477 A.D.[14] It refers to a house purchased by paying four hundred *Saṇṇa Pratapas. Pratāpa* as we know, was half of a *gadyāṇa. Saṇṇa pratāpa* literally means a small *pratāpa.*

Honnu and *Haṇa* are referred to in many Vijayanagara inscriptions. An inscription from Chikkaṇāpura in Gundlupet taluk dated 1412 A.D. refers to a transaction in which 270 *haṇas* are said to be equal to 27 *Hons.*[15] From this it becomes clear that 1 *Hon was* equal to 10 *Haṇas* Many other inscriptions also refer to this relative value. Though it is generally believed that *Honnu* is a gold coin, a Vijayanagara inscription refers to *Beḷḷiya Honnu* meaning *silver Honnu.* Similarly we have a reference to *beḷḷiya gadyāṇa,* meaning a *silver gadyāṇa* in the earlier period.

Kāṭi Honnu is mentioned in an inscription of the time of Krishṇadēvarāya dated 1215 A.D.[16] As the word *Kāṭi* means one fourth and *Hon* is equal to *gadyāṇa,* the expression may be taken to mean one fourth *Hon.* The word occurs in Kannaḍa literary works as a small coin. From all these references it may be surmised that *Kāṭi Hon* was a coin perhaps used in accounts and it was equal to one fourth of the *Hon. Gutti Hon, Ādavāni Hon* and *Tāḍapatri Hon* are the *Hons* minted at Gutti, Ādōni and Tādapatri respectively. *Gajabēṇṭekāra Hon* literally means a *Hon* of elephant hunting type. Immediately this reminds us of the title of Dēvarāya II of Vijayanagara and his coin containing the legend *Gajabēṇṭekāra,* and *Gajagaṇḍabhēruṇḍa.* They also have an elephant on the obverse. Hence these coins were referred to as *gajabēṇṭekāra* coins by the common people. Thus this is a good example for a coin being referred to by its legend on it.

Different types of *Haṇa* are also mentioned in inscriptions and literary works. The word *Haṇa* in Kannaḍa refers to (Sanskrit *Paṇa*) money in general as well as the particular coin of the same name. An inscription of 1547 A.D. of the time of Sadāśivarāya refers to the monthly salary of a teacher as two *Pratāpa Haṇas.*[17] *Haṇa* is also mentioned along with taxes like *Mane Haṇa* and *Noga Haṇa.*[18] An inscription from Ummattur dated to 1416 A.D. refers to *Honnu Haṇa.*[19] Obviously in this case the reference is just to emphasise that it is a gold coin. *Tirupati Haṇa* as minted in *Mānaumichaupada* either may refer to a coin minted in Tirupati or a coin on which the God of Tirupati is portrayed.

Some of the records and epigraphs from Pudukottai region belonging to the Vijayanagara period mention different types of *Paṇas.* In fact there is a strong tradition of *Vīrarāya Paṇams* throughout South India. It has not been possible to identify this *Vīrarāya* of this tradition and also *Vīrarāya* of the coins. Most probably they were the *paṇams* minted by Harihara with Hanumān on the obverse and legend *Vīra Harihara* on the reverse. The records of Pudukottai also mention *Guḷikai paṇam, Rāsi Paṇam, Sakra (Chakra) Paṇam and Ādūra Paṇam,*[20] It is difficult to understand the meaning of these terms.

Māḍa or *Māḍai* (Tamil) was a very popular gold coin from early times in Andhra and Tamilnad. But it was not in use in Karnataka. From the context it appears that this coin was synonymous with *varaha* and *gadyāṇa.* As Vijayanagara kingdom included parts of Andhra and Tamilnadu, the kings used this coin also in the transactions as can be seen from the inscriptions. But their use was highly limited as compared to *gadyāṇa* or *varaha.* As the word *singa* literally means a lion, it may be surmised that these *Māḍa* coins might have had lion on them. *Acchyutarāya Māḍa* is mentioned in an inscription of the time of Śrīrangarāya I, dated 1578 A.D. from Bellary district.[21]

Bēḷe and *Kāsu* are also mentioned rarely in the epigraphs of the period. An epigraph of the time of Harihara II, dated 1382 A.D. refers to taxes to be paid to Daṇḍanāyaka Muddappa at the rate of one *bēḷe* per *gadyāṇa.*[22] As the income is described as *suvarṇādāya, bēḷe* should be considered as a gold coin. The term *Kāsu,* as a copper coin occurs in an inscription of the time of Achyutarāya, dated 1531 A.D.[23] It mentions the local levy as one *kāsu* per load of paddy and grains.

Rūka was another coin which was quite popular in the Andhra area right from the eighth century A.D. However, such a coin was not known in Karnataka. That it continued to be used in the Andhra area even during he Vijayanagara period is attested to by many inscriptions found in Nellore.[24] Perhaps it was a silver coin. However, it was not a very popular coin during the Vijayanagara period, as compared to *Varaha* and *gadyāṇa.*

Silver coins in the Vijayanagara period are called *Tāra.* An inscription of the time of Dēvarāya II, dated 1424 A.D. refers to a land transaction in which *Tāra* is mentioned.[25] Another inscription from Anantapur refers to a gift of few *Tāras.*[26] As known from foreign writers *Tāra* was one sixteenth or one sixth of a *Paṇa.*

References to copper coins are rare in the contemporary inscriptions. *Kāṇi, Duggāṇi, Are kāṇi* are, however, mentioned in Kannaḍa works of the period. *Basava Purāṇa* refers to *Are kāṇi* or *half kāṇi (Ninnu oḍaveyoḷara Kāṇiyami sevedaḍe bālikanam bhaktenallai).* Bommarasa's *Saundara Purāṇam* of 1450 A.D. also refers to *Arekāṇi (Dravyodoḷ Are Kāṇi kundiralu). Duggāni* is a copper coin equal to two *Kāṇis.* This is referred to by Mangarasa (1501 A.D.) in his *Sūpaśāstra (Kalasi Duggāṇiyandadi māḍi).* Even Purandaradāsa also refers to *Duggāṇi (Duggāṇi balu keṭṭadayya).*

Paṇam is also referred to as copper coin in some inscriptions and literary works. It is difficult to distinguish it from the gold *Paṇa* as found in the inscriptions. According to Parāśara Mādhavīya, *paṇa* was a copper coin. It would be worthwhile if this rich epigraphic data is collated and compared with the actual specimens of the coins so far found. Then the epigraphic and literary data becomes more meaningful.

A large number of foreign travellers visited Vijayanagara empire and wrote their accounts which have become very valuable for the study of the history of Vijayanagara. But numismatists do not seem to have given importance to this data supplied by the travellers, in understanding the coinage of the Vijayanagara period. Further these travellers who had handled different currencies of the world were in a better position to remark about the coinage of the Vijayanagara period. Thus we have some appreciative statements as also critical statements of the currency system of the Vijayanagara period supplied by these travellers. As most of the travellers were contemporary to the Vijayanagara empire, their testimony is all the more important and trust worthy.

Most of the travellers allude in their own way to the existence of the Department of mints and the techniques of minting coins during the period. That mints were located in various parts of the empire is attested to by Abdul Razzak. He states, that the usage of the country was that at a stated period everyone throughout the whole empire carried to the mint the revenue which was due from him and whoever had money due to him from the exchequer received an order upon the mint.[27] Barbosa adds that the coin *Pardao* was coined in certain cities of the kingdom of Vijayanagara and that it was round and made in a mould. Though it is not known as to how many mints were operating in the Vijayanagara kingdom, it is known from epigraphical and literary references that Gaṇḍikoṭa, Tirupati, Ādoṇi, Penukoṇḍa, Mangalore, Bārakūr, Gutti, Nellore, Madurai had mints.

To regulate the weight and fineness of the gold coins, the help of the goldsmiths who were specially appointed for the purpose was sought, says Barbosa.[28] Varthema adds some more interesting information on this point. He states that the money changers and bankers have some weights, that is balance which are so small that the box in which they stand and the weights together do not weigh half an ounce; and they are so accurate that they will turn by the weight of a hair of the head. And when they wish to test any piece of gold, they have carats of gold as we have; and they have the touchstone like us. And they test after our manner. When the touchstone is full of gold, they have a ball of a certain composition, which resembles wax, and with this ball and when they wish to see if the gold is good or pure, they press on the touchstone and then they see in the ball the goodness of the gold and then they say; This is good and this is poor. And when that ball is full of gold, they melt it and take out all the gold which they have tested by the touchstone. The money changers are accurate in their business.[29] The writing is self explanatory and throws light on a rare aspect of the minting of the period. This is further confirmed by the writings of Vasco da Gama when he states that the Overseer of the treasury then sent for a changer who weighed it all and proved with his touchstone which they carry for that purpose, and with which they are very clever and they set a value for each coin.[30]

Now, we may refer to the fineness of the gold coins as mentioned by the travellers. According to Barbosa, the gold used for the coins was base. But the Chinese traveller make it clear that the gold *paṇam* was pure upto nine tenths. Thus we have two different opinions of the fineness of the gold coins of the Vijayanagara period. As we have in the epigraphic data they refer to terms like *ghaṭṭi varaha, nija ghaṭṭi varaha* and *śuddha varaha.* Though the exact connotation of these terms is not known, it may be surmised that they refer to the fineness of the gold in these coins. From this it becomes clear that all the gold coins were not of equal fineness and hence the two travellers were referring to two or more different types of coins. Perhaps the coins of higher denominations like *gadyāṇa, pratāpa* and *paṇa* had better fineness as compared to gold coins of lower denominations like *hāga, chinna, bēḷe* and *vīsa.* Unless the metallurgical analysis of all the denominations of gold coins of the Vijayanagara period is made, this problem cannot be solved.

With all the control and enforcement of the minting operations described above, there seems to have been some difficulty in the universal acceptance of these coins as mentioned by some foreign travellers. Domingo Paes states that gold *Pardaos* were current all over India. But Caeser Frederick had a different experience with regard to Vijayanagara coinage. He writes "When we come into a new governor's territory as everyday we did, although they were all the tributaries of Vijayanagara, yet every one of them stamped a small coin of copper so that the money we took today would not serve the next day." In this connection we have to observe that Caeser Frederick was referring to copper coins of small value whereas Domingo Paes was talking about gold coins namely, the *Pardaos.*

The travellers refer to the names of the coins with which they were familiar. Abdul Razzak who visited Vijayanagara during the reign of Dēvarāya II has left a detailed note on the coinage of the period. He writes 'one might seek in vain throughout the whole of Hindostan to find a more *Absolute Rai* (Dēvarāya II). Jewellers sold pearls, rubies and emeralds publicly in bazars. Dēvarāya's coinage included gold *varahas, partarb (pratāpa)* or *half varaha, quarter varaha, fanam,* silver *Tāra* and copper *Jiṭāls.* One *varaha* was equal to two *partarbs;* one *partarb* was equal to ten *faṇams;* one *faṇam* was equal to six silver *Tāras* and one silver *Tāra* was equal to three copper *jiṭals'.*[31]

Varthema mentions the coin *Pardai* and describes it as having two devices stamped on one side and certain letters on the other. Domingo Paes also describes the *Pardao* in a different way. "If anyone does not know what a *Pardao* is, let him know that it is a round gold coin which coin is not struck anywhere in India except in this kingdom; It bears impressed on it one side two images and on the other the name of the king who commanded it to be struck. Those that this king ordered to be struck have only one image. This coin is current all over India.[32] *Pardao* is half of a *varaha* and weighed 26 grains. It contained the legend *pratāpa* added to the name of the issuer.

Another gold coin which is frequently mentioned by the travellers is *paṇa* or *faṇam.* According to Abdul Razzak one *partarb* was equal to ten *paṇams* and hence one *varaha* was equal to twenty *paṇams.*[33] Varthema also agrees with this statement.

Coins of Harihara I

Harihara I, the founder of the Vijayanagara dynasty issued coins in gold, silver and copper. He inaugurated the tradition of minting coins with Hanumān and Garuḍa on the obverse. It has been suggested that the symbols of Hanumān and Garuḍa were connected with the Sēvuṇas of Dēvagiri and that Harihara I used their symbols as he was related in someway to them. It is more probably that Hanumān, one of the most popular deities in the Hindu pantheon, was chosen by Harihara with a view to inspiring the people to build the Vijayanagara empire. The coins which contain the legend *Vīra Harihara* are ascribed to Harihara I and those which contain the legend *Pratāpa Harihara* are regarded as the issues of Harihara II. The coins of Harihara I are comparatively cruder and the representation of Hanumān and Garuḍa are not artistic as those of the later coins.

Type A: This is a gold coin of *Varaha* denomination with a weight of 51.5 grains. Its diameter is 0.54".

obv: Figure of Hanumān to the right with knees bent, the left hand resting on the left knee and the right hand raised up. The tail is lifted up behind the head and the face looks forward.

rev: Kannaḍa legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them:

Śrī Vi
ra Hari
hara

Coin of Harihara I

Silver Coins:

Type B: Bhandare has identified another two silver coins of this ruler.[34] The first coin weighs 0.15 gms while the other one weighs 0.07 gms. Obverse of both the coins have Vīra Hanumān and the reverse shows traces of the legend. By their weight and size they seem to be fractions of *tāra,* might be half and quarter *tāra* coins.

Type C: This coin is similar to type A in all respects both in the obverse and in the reverse. But this coin is of silver.

Copper Coins

Type D: This is a copper coin with a diameter of 0.6".
obv: Similar to type A, but the face of Hanumān looks back.
rev: Kannaḍa legend as in type A.

Śrī Vī
ra hari
hara

Type E: This is also a copper coin with a diameter of 0.62".
obv: Within a circle of dots is seen Hanumān as in type A.
rev: Within a linear circle is seen Nāgari legend in two lines

Ha ri
ha ra

Type F: This is also a copper coin with a diameter of 0.6". Instead of Hanumān, the obverse contains a Garuḍa.

Type G: A Seetharaman has reported a copper coin of this king with tiger on the obverse and thinks that this is an influence from the Hoysaḷas.[35] So far no Vijayanagara coin with tiger on it had been reported. This has been found from the Bhavāni river bed in Periyar district.

Weight 1.4 gms; diameter 1.2 cms.

obv: A standing tiger face turned towards left.

rev: Two line Kannaḍa legend

Hari
hara

Type H: Weight 0.6 gms; diameter 12 mms.

obv: A rude figure of Hanumān with bent knees

rev: Within a dotted circle Kannaḍa letter, *ha.*

So, in this type instead of the full name, only the first letter is portrayed occupying almost the entire flan of the coin.[36]

Type I:

obv: Garuḍa with a long beak standing to the right but the face looking back.

rev: Kannaḍa legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them.

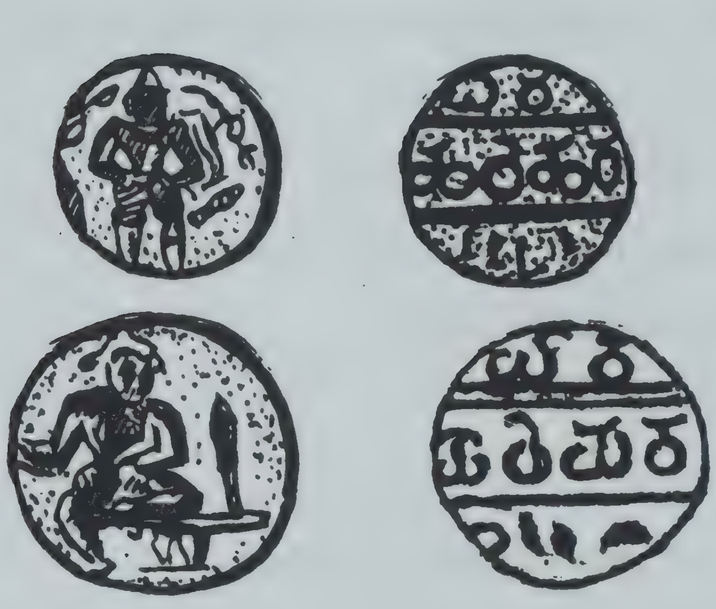
Śrī Vī
ra hari
hara

Type J: Two types of coins of this king have been published by D.G. Angal. Weight 1.63 gms; diameter 1 cm.

obv: King standing with both hands on his waist

rev: Two line legend in Kannaḍa

Vīra
Harihara



Coins of Harihara I

Type K: Weight 13.3 gms; diameter 1.75 cms.

obv: King sitting on a throne.

rev: Two line Kannaḍa legeṇd

Vīra
Harihara

Portrait coins of Vijayanagara are rare and hence both these coins are important. It is also worthwhile examining if they are not gods.

Coins of Bukka I

Bukka I issued gold and copper coins with Hanumān on the obverse and his name on the reverse. But it is very difficult to state with certainty whether they do not belong to Bukka II. As Bukka I was one of the great rulers of the dynasty who consolidated the empire, these coins have been ascribed to him.

Type A: Only one type of gold coin of this king is known so far. It is a *Varaha* and is referred to in inscriptions as *Hanumantarāyi Varaha.*

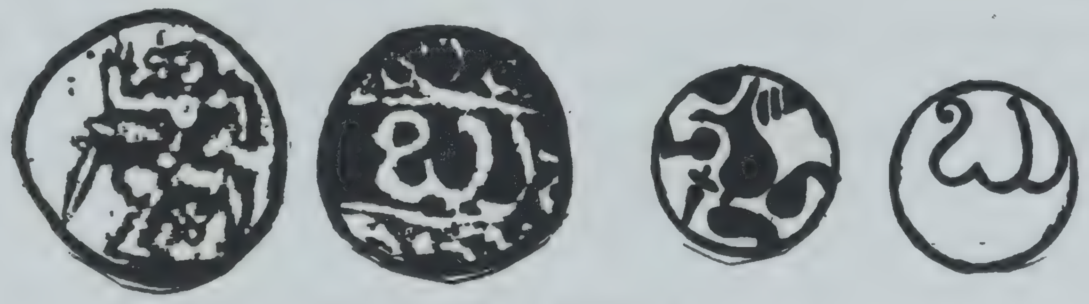
obv: Figure of Hanumān to the right with bent knees, the left hand resting on the left knee and the right hand raised up in the act of striking. The tail is lifted up. The face looks back.

rev: Kannaḍa legend in three lines, with horizontal lines separating.

Śrī Vi
ra Buka
rāya

Silver Coin

Type B: A silver coin of this ruler has been reported.[37] It has Vīra Hanumān on the obverse and the letter *bu* on the reverse. Its weight is 0.07 gms.



Silver coins of Bukka I

Copper Coins

Type C:

obv: Hanumān to the right with bent right knees. The tail is in the form of an arch over the head.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal separating lines.

Vīra Bu
ka pati
rāya

Type D: This specimen which is almost similar to Type B, shows some changes in its legend on the reverse.

obv: Similar to type B.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with separating horizontal lines.

Śrī Bu
kapa . . rā
ya

Two copper coins with god (Vīrabhadra) and Kāli on the obverse with the legend *Śrī Vīra* have been ascribed to Harihara I or Bukka I. But this attribution is highly conjectural.

Coins of Harihara II

Harihara II was one of the able rulers of his dynasty and laid the foundations for the greatness of the Vijayanagara empire. He inherited a vast empire which he maintained intact and contributed to the progress of the empire. Harihara II was a great patron of cultural achievements also. Thus there was an allround activity in his period. This is reflected in the coinage of Harihara II. Instead of the ordinary title *Vīra,* he assumed a more respectable one, *Pratāpa.* His coins contain the legend *Pratāpa Harihara.* Though Harihara II was a Śaivite, he patronised Vaishṇavism also. On his coins are found the Śaivite and Vaishṇavite deities. He also introduced more deities on his coins. Umāmahēśvara, Lakshmīnārāyaṇa, Lakshmīnarasimha, Sarasvati, Brahma and Nandi are seen on the coins of Harihara. From the technical point of view, the coins of Harihara stand on a different footing. They are a good testimony to the art of minting coins in Vijayanagara period. They are neatly cut and well executed. Some specimens show a definite evidence of milling the coins. From the artistic point of view, they are superior to those of the early period. From all these points of view, the coins of Harihara II deserve special consideration.

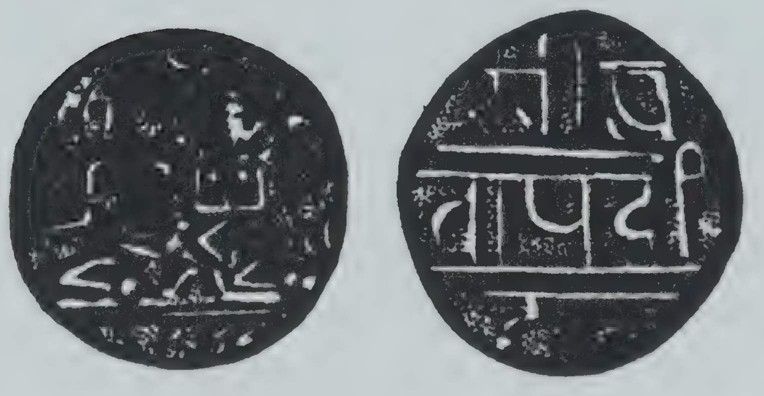
Gold, silver and copper coins of Harihara II have come to light. It is curious that only half *Varahas* weighing about 26 grains of Harihara II are known so far. Perhaps it was Harihara II who began minting the half *Varahas* in gold. His full *Varaha* coins have not been found so far. Harihara's gold coins can be divided into five types.

Type A:

obv: On a raised seat Śiva sitting with Pārvati; both the deities wear *kirīṭa* and other ornaments; Śiva holds a trident and *Ḍamaru* in his left and right hands. Above Śiva's head are seen the sun and moon.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them.

Śrī Pra
tāpa Hari
hara



Coin of Harihara II

Type B: This is also a half *Varaha* with a weight of 26.7 grains and diameter 0.4".

obv: As in type A but Śiva holds a battle axe in his back hand instead of *Ḍamaru.*

rev: As a type A.

Type C: This is a half *Varaha.*

obv: Brahma and Sarasvati seated in *padmāsana;* one of the hands of Brahma is in *Abhayamudrā* and the others hold a ladle, *kalaśa* and book. Sarasvati holds a *Vīṇā* in her hand.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines

Śrī Pra
apa Hari
hara

Type D: This is a half *Varaha* and this type is very rare.

obv: Lakshmī and Narasimha seated; *Śankha* and *Chakra* are clearly seen.

rev: As in type C.

Type E: Angal's collection has a seated Lakshmī. Weight 3.3 gms; diameter 1 cm.

obv: Within a circle of dots seated Lakshmī.

rev: Three line Nāgari legend

Śrī pra
tāpa hari
hara

Type F:

obv: Nārāyaṇa and Lakshmī seated together. Nārāyaṇa holds in his right hand the *Chakra* with three conventional flames; in the left hand is seen the conch. His other arm is round Lakshmī and the remaining one is in *Abhayamudrā.*

rev: As in type A.

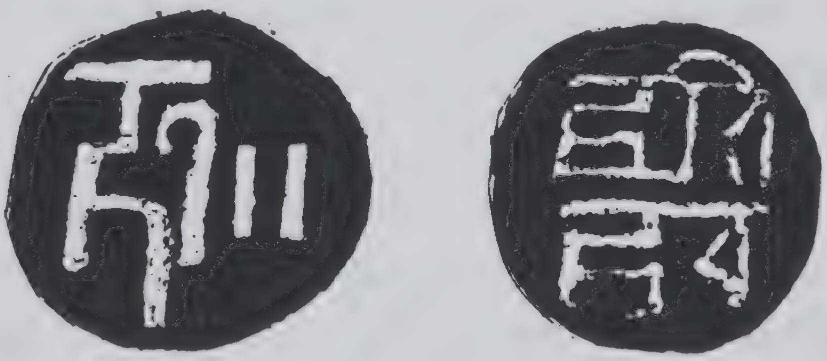
Silver Coin

Type G: Some of the silver coins of Harmal hoard have been attributed to Harihara.[38] The obverse contains a vertical sword pointing down and the reverse has the Nāgari legend *Śrī Hari (Hara).*

Type H: A very important coin was published by S.G.Dhopate.[39] It is a silver coin with a diameter of 7.4 mms and weight of 0.23 gms.

obv: Nāgari letter *ha* followed by numeral 2½ (two and a half)
rev: Nāgari legend *Harihara* in two lines.

This is very significant coin from many points of view. Firstly it has legends on both the sides which is unusual for the coins of Vijayanagara. More importantly, it mentions the name of the coin *haṇa* abbreviated as *ha.* It also mentions the value of the *haṇa* as two and a half. So far any coin (except the Muslim coins) containing the name of the coin and its abbreviation has not been seen with the exception of the *Āḷupa gadyāṇa.* Obviously this must have been a Muslim influence but did not become quite popular with the Vijayanagara rulers. Only Dēvarāya II is known to have issued similar coins in silver. Some unidentified coins of this dynasty also contain the numerals as found here.



Silver coin of Harihara II

Type I: Another coin of the same type has also been noticed.

Its diameter is 0.55 cm and its weight is 0.14 gms. Thus it is almost half of the above.

obv: Garuḍa made of lines and dots.

rev: Nāgari letter *ha* followed by numeral 1 and a stroke which represents the numeral 1¼ (one and one fourth)

Thus this coin represents one and one fourth *haṇa.*

Copper Coin

Type J: This is the only type of copper coin of Harihara II known so far. Its diameter is 0.6" and it weighs 37 grains.

obv: Within a circle of dots humped bull moving to the left with bells hanging from its neck, crescent moon above and dagger in front.

rev: Within a circle of dots Nāgari legend in two lines and horizontal lines separating them.

Pratāpa
Harihara

A copper coin with legends on both sides was ascribed to this king.[40] The obverse reading of the legend was *Śrī Pratāpa Kakati* and the reverse had *Harihararāya.* On this basis it was even suggested that Harihara was in the service of the Kākatīyas. But P.L. Gupta suggested that this coin may belong to the Kākatiyas and not to Vijayanagara.

Coins of Bukka II

Only one type of copper coin of this ruler is known so far. This coin is similar to the copper coins of Harihara II and hence it is attributed to Bukka II though there is a possibility of attributing this coin to Vijayarāya.

obv: Within a circle of dots a humped bull moving to left with bell hanging from its neck. Crescent moon is seen above while dagger is in front.

rev: Within a circle of dots Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them.

Vi ja
ya Buka
rā ya

Coins of Dēvarāya I

It is very difficult to distinguish between the coins of Dēvarāya I (1406-12 A.D.) and Dēvarāya II (1426-46 A.D.). Certain coins contain the legend *Dēvarāya* or *Śrī Pratāpa Dēvarāya* on their reverse. But there is no means of knowing which of the Dēvarāyas these legends refer to. Chronologically they were so close to each other that the palaeography of the legend on the coins cannot be taken as a criterion to decide the issue. Hence mere suggestions can be offered which are by no means final. Dēvarāya II had a special fascination for elephants. His title, *Gajabēṇṭekāra* is well known. He was also interested in elephant hunt as we see phrases like *pleased to institute elephant hunt* etc., in his inscriptions. Abdul Razzak states that the court of Dēvarāya II contained more than one thousand elephants lofty as hills and gigantic as demons. From these, it could be safely suggested that such coins as contain the elephant on the obverse could have been issued by the king Dēvarāya II.

It has also been suggested that Dēvarāya II was somewhat inclined towards Vīraśaivism and hence the coins containing the Vaishṇava signs and deities could not have been his issues. On the basis of these differences, the coins of Dēvarāya I are distinguished from those of Dēvarāya II.

Gold Coins: Five types of gold coins of Dēvarāya I have come to light.

Type A: *Varaha;* diameter 0.45", weight 52.3 grains.

obv: Lakshmī and Nārāyaṇa seated on a lotus. Nārāyaṇa holds the *Sudarśana chakra* with three conventional flames and a conch in his hands.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them

Śrī Pra
tāpa Dēva
rāya

Type B: Half *Varaha* or *Pratāpa Varaha,* diameter 0.4", weight 26.2 grains.

obv: Same as in Type A.

rev: Same as in type A.

Type C: *Varaha,* diameter 0.45:, weight 52.3 grains.

obv: Śiva and Pārvati seated on a pedestal, both wearing *kirīṭas* and ornaments. Śiva's four hands are visible. One of the left hands holds a trident and the other is holding Pārvati. One of the right hands is in *Abhayamudrā* while the other holds a drum. The sun and moon are clearly seen near Śiva's head.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them.

Śrī pra
tāpa Dēva
rāya

Type D: Half *Varaha,* diameter 0.35", weight 26.1 grains.

obv: Same as in type C.

rev: Same as in type C.

Type E: *Varaha,* diameter 0.45", weight 52.3 grains.

obv: Śiva seated with Pārvati on his left lap; both wear *kirīṭas* and ornaments. Śiva holds a *Paraśu* or a battle axe instead of the drum in his right hand and a *mṛiga* or antelope in his left.

rev: Same as in type C.

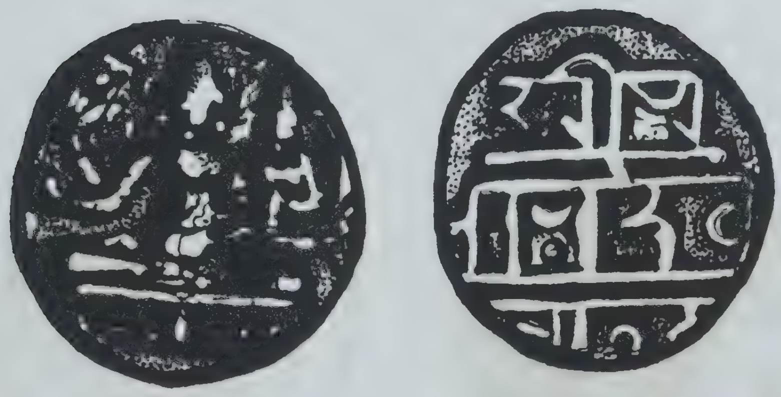
Silver coins: Dēvarāya I followed his predecessors in minting the silver coins with numeral on it. As this coin does not contain the elephant, it is attributed to Dēvarāya I.[41] Its weight is 0.23 gms.

Type F:

obv: Nāgari letter 2 followed by two vertical strokes.

rev: Nāgari legend in two lines

Dēva
rāya



Silver coin of Dēvarāya

One more type of silver coin of this ruler has been identified.[42] Weight 1.6 gms; diameter 1 cm.

obv: Sitting Śiva-Pārvati with all the usual attributes.

rev: Three line Nāgari legend

Śrī
Pratāpadēva
rāya

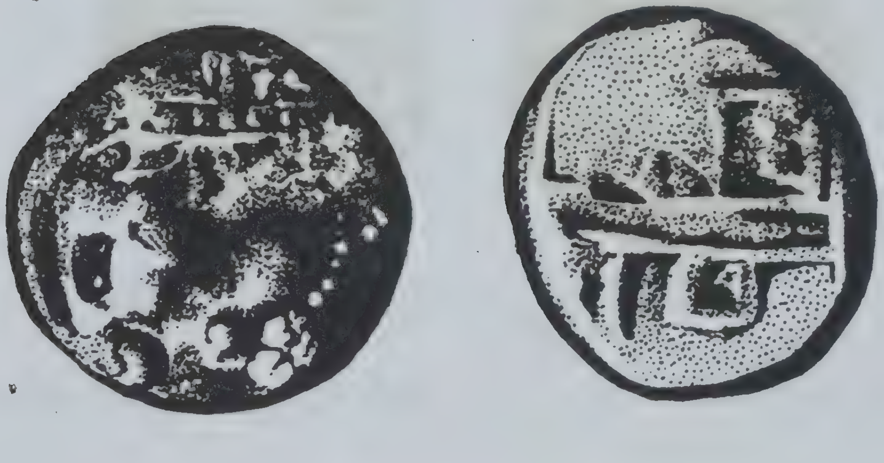
Copper coins: Eight types of copper coins of Dēvarāya I can be distinguished. All these coins contain the bull on the obverse with some variations. The diameter of these coins varies from 0.41" to 0.54". However, there is greater divergence in their weights. Some specimens weigh 50 grains while some others are of 30 grains and still others weigh about 15 grains. And there are many which are in between the weights noted above. However, it has to be noted that the lowest is 15 grains. These copper coins may be examined now.

Type G:

obv: A humped bull to the left with sun and moon above in a circle of dots. In front of the bull is the Nāgari letter *De* standing for Dēvarāya.

rev: Within a circle of dots is a Kannaḍa legend in two lines and between these two lines are seen a conch, a dagger and a discus in order

Śrī Dēva
rāya



Copper coin of Dēvarāya I

Type H:

obv: Same as in F.

rev: Conch and discus on either side of a dagger; Kannaḍa letter *Dē,* obviously standing for Dēvarāya, sun above, and moon below.

Type I:

obv: Similar to F but the bull is to the right and not to left.

rev: Similar to F.

Type J:

obv: Bull to left and sun and moon above; Nāgari letter *Dē* reversed in front of the bull, with three dots below

rev: Kannaḍa legend in two lines.

Śrī Dēva
rāya

The legend has double horizontal lines and single vertical line separating each letter.

Type K: In the types that follow, the legend is written in Nāgari characters and not in Kannaḍa.

obv: Within a circle of dots, a humped bull moving to left; the bull has bell hanging from its neck; moon above and dagger in front.

rev: Two line Nāgari legend

Śrī Dēva
rāya

With sun and moon but no dagger.

Type L:

obv: Similar to J, but the bull is to right.

rev: Similar to J.

Type M: Angal's collection has another type. Its weight is 15.9 gms; diameter 1.85 cms.

obv: Standing Garuḍa

rev: Three line Nāgari legend

Śrī
Pratāpadēva
rāya

Type N:

obv: Within a circle of dots a humped bull to left with bell hanging from its neck; crescent moon above and conch in front.

rev: Within a circle of dots a Nāgari legend in two lines with horizontal lines separating the legend; a dagger below the legend.

Pratāpa dē
varāya

Type O: This copper coin almost similar to the ones described above does not contain even the legend Dēvarāya on the reverse. But the obverse contains the bull with the Nāgari legend *Dē* and is similar to type F of Dēvarāya I. Hence this coin which contains the legend *Nīlakaṇṭha* can be ascribed to Dēvarāya I.

obv: Within a circle of dots a bull moving to right with Nāgari letter *Dē* in front and the sun and moon above.

rev: Within a circle of dots Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines

Śrī
Nīlakaṇ
ṭha

Type P: Mukunda Prabhu has identified a copper coin with garuḍa.

It measures 20 mm in diametre;[43] weight 11 gms.

obv: Garuḍa standing facing front in *anjalimudrā; śankha* and *chakra* on either side; legend *Dē va* - in Kannaḍa.

rev: Three line Nāgari legend; sun and moon

Śrī Pratā
pa dēva
rāya

Coins of Vijayarāya I

Only one copper coin of this ruler has come to light. The attribution of this coin to Vijayarāya depends entirely on the reverse of the coin which contains the legend Śrī Jayarāya in Kannaḍa. The coin is similar to that of Dēvarāya I, weighing 39 grains and measuring 0.61" in diameter.

obv: Within a circle of dots a humped bull to the left with the crescent moon and sun above.

rev: Within a circle of dots the Kannaḍa legend

Śrī Jaya
rāya

Coins of Dēvarāya II

Dēvarāya II was one of the most important kings of Karnataka. In the words of Abdul Razzak, who travelled in the Vijayanagara empire during this monarch's period, 'one might seek in vain throughout the whole of Hindusthan to find a more *Absolute Rai* (Dēvarāya II)'. The same writer refers to the prosperity of the empire by saying that jewellers sold pearls, rubies and emeralds publicly in bazaars. We also have very interesting testimony to the coinage of Dēvarāya II by the same traveller. He refers to coins of gold, silver and copper and gives their relative values. According to this testimony the following are the coins of Dēvarāya II.

1 *Varaha* = 2 *Partabs* (half *varaha*)
1 *Partab* = 10 *faṇams*
1 *faṇam* = 6 silver *Tārs*
1 silver *Tār* = 3 copper *Jiṭāls*

The testimony of Abdul Razzak is corroborated by the large number of coins discovered so far. They are in all the three metals and are in various denominations. The discovery of a quarter *varaha* not mentioned by Abdul Razzak shows that his list is not exhaustive. Thus there might have been coins of more denominations not known to us. From the types of coins it appears that Dēvarāya II introduced many new types in addition to continuing the older types. We have already discussed the difference between the coins of Dēvarāya I and II. On that basis the following coins are attributed to Dēvarāya II.

Gold Coins

Type A: This is a quarter *varaha* or half *partab* coin. Its diameter is 0.3" and weight 12.2 grains. *Varaha* and *partab* coins of Dēvarāya II have not yet come to light.

obv: Within a linear circle a fine elephant moving to left with sun and moon above.

rev: Nāgari legend in two lines with horizontal lines.

Śrī dē
varāya

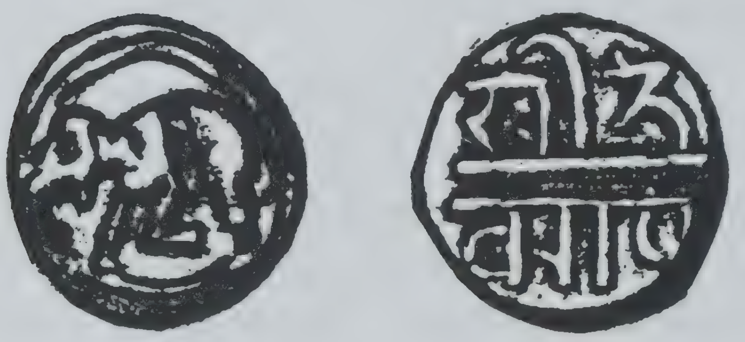
Silver Coins

Type B: This may be the coin *Tār* referred to by Abdul Razzak. its diameter is 0.4".

obv: Within a linear circle a moving elephant to right.

rev: A dagger and Nāgari legend in two lines

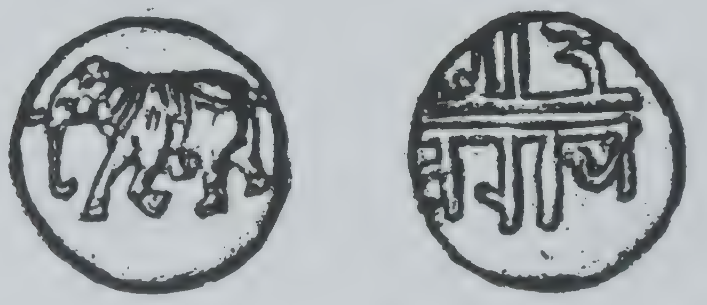
dēva
rāya



Silver coin of Dēvarāya II

In another sub-type of the above coin, a sword appears above the elephant on the obverse.[44]

Type C: It is almost similar but for the weight and size.[45] Weight 0.19 gms; diameter 0.76 cm.



Silver coin of Dēvarāya II

obv: Elephant facing right within a linear circle, a dagger above.

rev: Nāgari legend in two lines with separating lines

dēva
rāya

Type D: weight 0.16 gms; diameter 0.59 cm.[46]

obv: Elephant facing right within a linear circle.

rev: Two line Nāgari legend

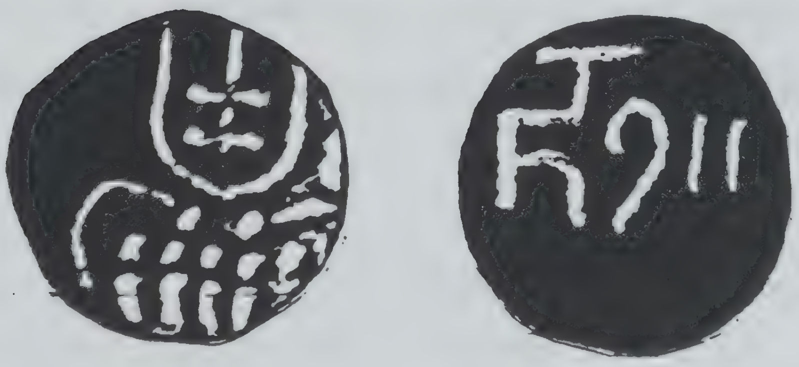
dēva
rāya

Type E: This is an important coin as it mentions the name and denomination of the coin.[47] This is in continuation of the tradition established by Harihara and Dēvarāya I.

Weight 0.23 gms; diameter 0.83 cm.

obv: Elephant made of dots facing right within a linear circle; an arch and symbols above.

rev: Nāgari letter *ha* followed by numeral 2½.



Silver coin of Dēvarāya II

Obviously this is a silver *haṇa* of the value of two and a half of Dēvarāya II. The elephant made of dots is noteworthy. Such coins have been reported from many places now.

Copper Coins

Type F: A large variety is found in the copper coins of Dēvarāya II. They have Nāgari and Kannaḍa legends on them and also his titles connected with elephant hunt.

obv: In double linear circle surrounded by a circle of dots elephant moving to the right with a letter above.

rev: Within a circle of dots Kannaḍa legend in three lines

Śrī dē
va rā
ya

Type G:

obv: As in type C.

rev: A dagger in the centre with a discus to the right and conch to the left. Above this is the Kannaḍa legend *Śrī Dēva* and *rāya* below.

Type H:

obv: Within a circle of dots a caparisoned and ornamented elephant with uplifted tail moving to the right.

rev: Within a circle of dots Kannaḍa legend in three lines with horizontal lines.

Pratā
pa dēva
rāya

Type I:

obv: A fine elephant moving to the left in a linear circle with the sun and moon above.

rev: Nāgari legend in two lines with horizontal lines.

Śrī dē
va rāya

Type J:

obv: Within a circle of dots an elephant moving to the right with a dagger above and the legend *Gajam* in Nāgari.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines.

Śrī Pra
tāpa dēva
rā ya

Type K:

obv: An elephant with neckropes and necklaces moving to the right holding a royal sword in its trunk. The letter *Dē* in Nāgari script reversed with ten dots.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them and the royal sword below the inscription.

Rāya
gajagaṇḍa
bēruṇḍa

K.D. Swaminathan described a similar coin but his description is slightly different. On the obverse he refers to 'What looks like a rider (may be king himself)'. Further he refers to an *Ankusa* also. But Biddulph does not agree with this description. The ten dots above have been mistaken for the rider and the *Ankuśa* is nothing but the reverse *Dē* in Nāgari script. The ten dots look like a conch shell. The opinion of Biddulph seems to be correct.

Type L:

obv: In a linear circle a roped elephant moving to the right with uplifted tail; no other symbols.

rev: In a circle of dots Nāgari legend in three lines

Rāya ga
ja gaṇḍa bē
ruṇḍa

Type M:

obv: An elephant moving to the right with the sun above.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with lines separating them.

Śrī Dēva
rāya gaja vē
ṭekāra

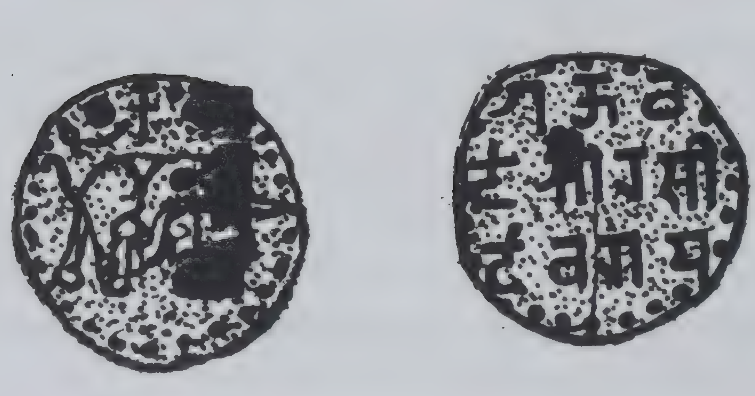
Type N:

Karunakaran has reported a similar coin but with a minor difference.[48] The word Dēvarāya comes at the end and not at the beginning. Weight 3.7 gms; diameter 1.6 cms.

obv: A caparisoned elephant; moon, sun, *śankha, chakra* and dagger above

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines

gaja vē
ṭakāra śrī
dēvarāya



Gajabēṭekāra type coin

Type O:

obv: Śiva and Pārvati seated.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines as in type J.

Śrī pra
tāpa dēva
rāya

In a sub-type of this coin, the legend has the honorific letter *ru* added at the end on the reverse.

Coins of Vijayarāya II

Only one type of copper coin of this ruler is known so far. These coins measure about 0.6" in diameter and their weight ranges from 24 to 29 grains. From the fabric and workmanship the coin can be regarded as post-Dēvarāya II and nearer that of Mallikārjuna. Hence this coin can be ascribed to Vijayarāya II who ruled for a very short period.

obv: Within a circle of dots an elephant moving to the left with uplifted trunk and tail. Discus and conch are seen above.

rev: Within a circle of dots a Kannaḍa legend in two lines. Between the sun and the moon is a dagger

Vija
ya rāya

Coins of Mallikārjuna

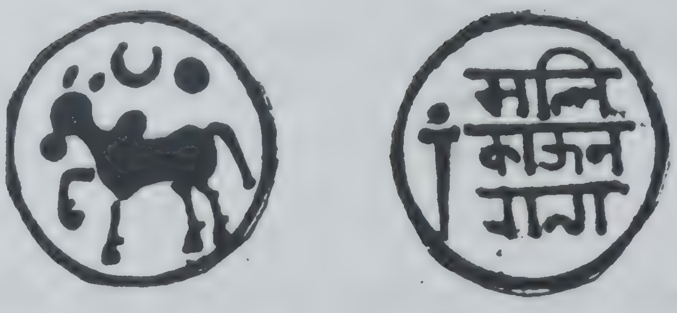
For the first time, Bhandare has reported silver coins of this ruler.[49] The silver coin weighs 0.24 gms.

Type A:

obv: A humped bull to left; sun and moon above

rev: Sword and Nāgari legend in three lines

Mali
kā juna
rāya



Silver coin of Mallikārjuna

Type B:

obv: Within concentric circles, the outer one being of dots, is seen an elephant to the left with uplifted tail. Kannaḍa letter *Śrī* above.

rev: Within a linear circle surrounded by a circle of dots Kannaḍa legend in three lines.

Ma li
kā juna rā
yaru

Type C:

obv: Similar to type A but the elephant is to the right.

rev: Similar to type A.

Type D: Mallikārjuna styled himself *Immadi Dēvarāya* as the king Dēvarāya II was a celebrated ruler. On the basis of this title of Mallikārjuna, copper coins containing the legend *Immaḍi Dēvarāya* can be ascribed to Mallikārjuna.

obv: Within a circle of dots an elephant with lifted tail running towards right.

rev: Within a circle of dots Kannaḍa legend in three lines

Yima
ḍi dēva
rāya

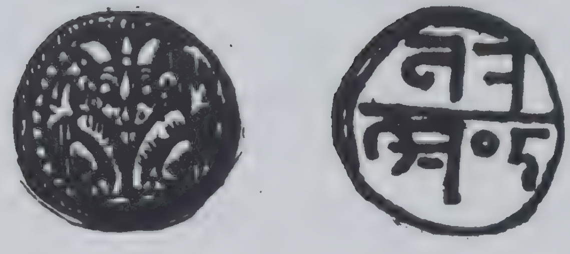
Heras has ascribed certain gold coins to Mallikārjuna. These are gold coins in two weights of 57 and 6 grains. The former can be identified as *varahas* and the latter, the *paṇams.* The coins in question are locally called *Ānegondi* or *Gajapati* coins. They are not the coins of the Gajapatis of Orissa and no coin of this type has been reported from Orissa. But they are available in large quantities in Karnataka. From the symbols they cannot be ascribed to the Chēras also. They can be ascribed to the Vijayanagara ruler Mallikārjuna on the following grounds. They are similar in shape and fabric to the Vijayanagara coins and are as abundant as the Vijayanagara coins. The elephant seen on these coins is similar to this animal seen on Vijayanagara coins. These coins are specially abundant in Bellary and Dharwar districts, i.e., round about the ancient capital of the Vijayanagara empire. Heras thinks that Mallikārjuna had a special predilection for elephants and assumed such titles as 'pleased to institute an elephant hunt', 'witnessed an elephant sport' etc. Moreover Mallikārjuna placed an elephant on his signet. From these evidences, these gold coins may be ascribed to Mallikārjuna.

Coins of Vīra Narasimha

Recently copper coins of this ruler have been reported for the first time.[50] Thus he becomes the first king in the Tuḷuva dynasty to issue coins. These copper coins were first reported from Talkāḍ. But the legend as well as the animal on the coins were not clear and hence these coins were ascribed to Vīra Narasimha with some doubt. This has been cleared by a copper coin in the collection of Kundanmal Jain, the condition of which is excellent and shows both the obverse and the reverse very clearly.

Type A: Weight 2.5 gms; diameter 13mm; thickness 3 mm.
obv: Within a circle of dots a lion.
rev: Two line Nāgari legend
Nara
simha

Type B: The Talkāḍ coin number 4 has *vyāḷa* on the obverse and hence this may be taken as another type.



Coin of Vīra Narasimha

Coins of Krishṇadēvarāya

Krishṇadēvarāya ranks high among the rulers not only of Karnataka but also of India. Political stability during his period ushered in great cultural activity for which Vijayanagara has justly become famous. The prosperity of the empire is attested to by a large number of writings of the foreign travellers. This is reflected in the coinage of the period. From the numismatic point of view, this can be considered a brilliant epoch for many new coins in various denominations in gold, and copper came to be minted. The devices on these coins are so varied that they provide good data for the historian. Śaiva and Vaishṇava deities appeared alike on the coins of Krishṇadēvarāya. From the artistic and technical points of view these coins rank high among the coins of India.

Gold Coins

Krishṇadēvarāya issued gold coins in many denominations. Of them the coin which weighs 117 grains is remarkable. It may be a special issue weighing about two and a quarter *varaha.* His other gold coins include *varaha, half-varaha* and *quarter-varaha.*

Type A: This gold coin weighing 117 grains and measuring 0.75" was issued in honour of Venkaṭēśvara of Tirupati. Kṛishṇadēvarāya had a special devotion for this deity. It is said that this type of coin was specially minted by the king to perform *Kanakābhishēka* to the Lord of Tirupati after his victory over Orissa. This coin is artistically very elegant and shows that the art of coinage had developed well.

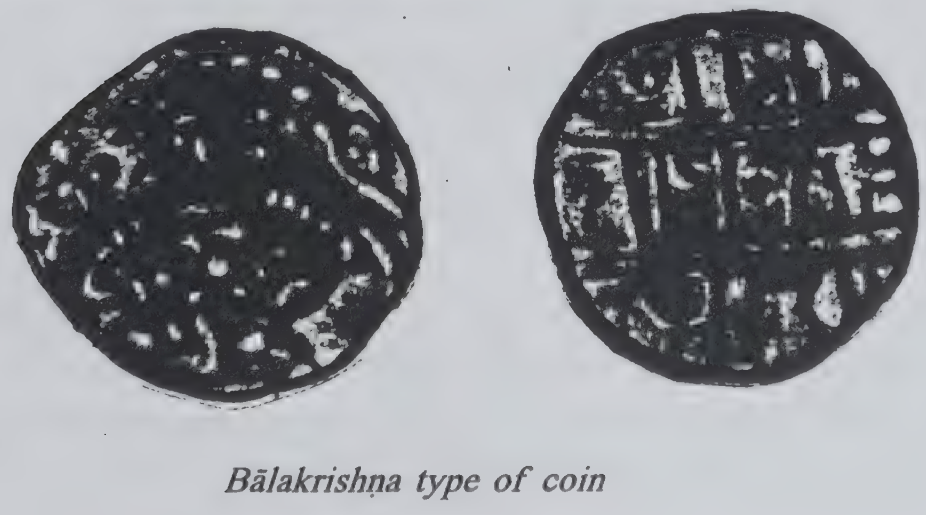
obv: God Venkaṭēśvara standing on a lotus wearing a tall *kirīṭa*; he has four arms; the right hand holds a discus while the left holds a conch; the right front hand is in *Abhayamudrā;* above the image is an ornamental arch with a lion face.

rev: Within a double lined circle Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them.

Śrī
Krishṇa rā
ya

Type B: It is a well known fact that Krishṇadēvarāya after his victory over Udayagiri brought the image of Krishṇa and built a temple in Vijayanagara for the deity. This took place around 1514-15 A.D. To commemorate this event Krishṇadēvarāya seems to have minted in gold the Bālakrishṇa type of coins in which the obverse contains the figure of Bālakrishṇa. There are variations in the representation of Bālakrishṇa also. This type seems to have been quite popular. *Varahas, half-varahas* and *quarter-varahas* of Bālakrishṇa type of Krishṇadēvarāya's coins have been found so far.

obv: Bālakrishṇa in a sitting posture with the left knee completely bent and resting on the seat while the left leg is slightly bent and kept below the left leg. The right hand holds a lump of butter with the other hand set on the knee. Bālakrishṇa wears ear rings, bracelets, armlets and anklets. To the left is a conch and to the right is a discus.



Bālakrishṇa type of coin

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them

Śrī Pra
tāpa Krishṇa
rāya

Type C: This is almost similar to type B but shows some minor variations in the sitting posture of Bālakrishṇa.

obv: Similar to type B, but Balakrishṇa sits with the right knee completely bent.

rev: As in type B.

Type D: In this variety both the knees are slightly bent and they rest on the seat. In other respects this coin is similar to type B.

Type E: In this type the seating posture of Bālakrishṇa is different.

obv: Bālakrishṇa sitting with the right knee bent and resting on the seat and the other raised up and supporting the arm. Around Bālakrishṇa's head is a circle of dots with conch and discus to the left and the right respectively.

rev: As in type B.

Type F: This type is similar to type B but Bālakrishṇa has a crown decorated with peacock feathers.

Type G: This type is also similar to type B but has some additional features. Besides other ornaments, Bālakrishṇa wears shoulder ornaments, a necklace and *yajnōpavīta.* The hair falls in curls around the head with a creeper on it. The conch and discus are larger in size.

Type H: This type is similar to type B but Bālakrishṇa has a tall *kirīṭa.*

Type I: Krishṇadēvarāya though a Vaishṇavite himself issued coins depicting Śaiva deities such as Umāmahēśvara and the Nandi. The former type is in gold while the latter is in copper. This gold coin is a *Varaha* measuring 0.45" and weighing 52 grains.

obv: Śiva seated with Pārvati on his left lap; Śiva holds a trident in his right hand and the other hand holds Pārvati in an embrace.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them without the word *pratāpa.*

Śrī
Krishṇarā
ya

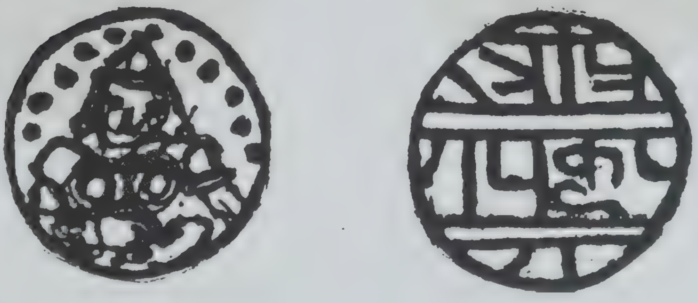
Type J: Angal's collection has a gold coin in which Lakshmī is represented. Weight 3.36 gms; diameter 1 cm.

obv: Four handed seated Lakshmī within a circle of dots.

rev: Three line Nāgari legend

Śrī
Pratāpakrishṇa
rāya

This is a new type of coin not known so far. Actually Lakshmi appears on many Vijayanagara coins along with Nārāyana and Narasimha. But in this coin she is found independently.



Lakshmi type of coin

Copper Coins

Krishṇadēvarāya's copper coins are seen in three types, Garuḍa, Bull and Bālakrishṇa. They are found in various denominations. The highest weighs 247 grains and the lowest 24 grains. The following are the known types of copper coins of Krishṇadēvarāya.

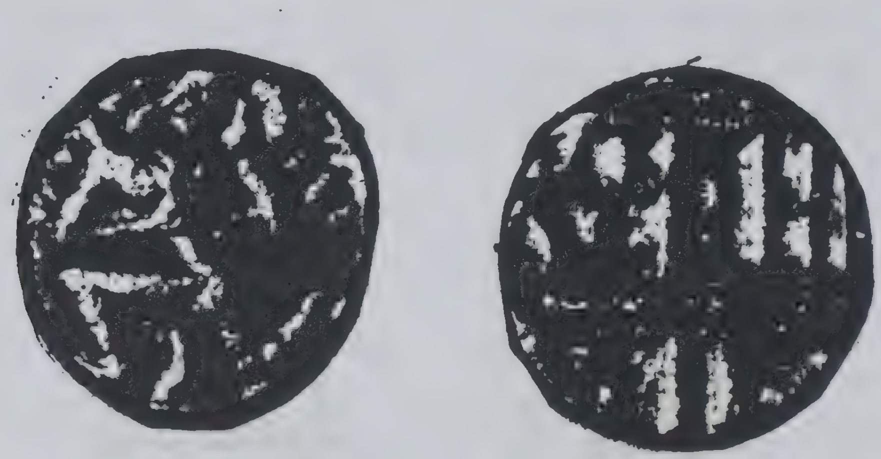
Type K: This coin is very thick and heavy and measures 0.8" in diameter.

obv: In a circle of dots Garuḍa facing left; Garuḍa wears a tall *kirīṭa* and his hands are joined in an attitude of devotion; he kneels on his left knee in the *Virāsana* pose; wings of Garuḍa are seen.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them.

Śrī Pra
tāpa Krishṇa
rāya

There are many sub-type in this depending upon the position of Garuḍa



Garuḍa type of coin

Type L: This is similar to type J but the obverse shows a circle of line instead of dots. The diameter is 0.6".

Type M: This is also similar to type J but on the obverse is seen conch and discus near the head of the Garuḍa.

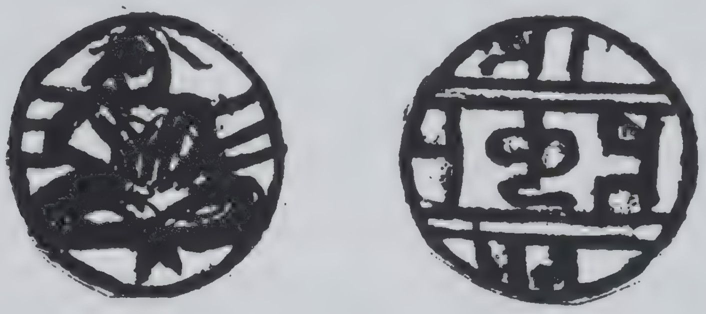
Type N: Angal's collection shows a seated Garuḍa. Weight 15.10 gms; diameter 2 cms.

obv: Seated *(padmāsana)* garuḍa.

rev: Two line Nāgari legend

Śrī
pratāpa Krishṇa
(rāya)

Though many different types of standing Garuḍa have been noticed on these coins, this is the first time that seated Garuḍa has been seen. Thus it is important.



Coin of Krishṇadēvarāya

Type O: This type of 0.6" shows the bull on its obverse.

obv: Within a circle of dots fine bull standing to the left with ornaments; the sun and moon above.

rev: A conventionalised sword flanked by discus and conch with Kannaḍa legend in two lines.

Śrī Krishṇa
rāya

A unique copper coin of Krishṇadēvarāya has been brought to light by Hariharaiah.[51] It mentions not only the name of the king but also his favourite minister Timmarasu. Its weight is 4.4 gms, diameter 1.5 cms.

Type P:

obv: Two line Kannaḍa legend

Krishṇa
dēva
rev: Kannaḍa legend
Timmarasugāru

It is well known that Timmarasu was partly responsible for the accession of Krishṇadēvarāya to the Vijayanagara throne against the wishes of Vīra Narasimha. Timmarasu became the prime minister of Krishṇadēvarāya and enjoyed a special status. It is said that Krishṇadēvarāya performed *Kanakābhishēka* to Timmarasu. Naturally to commemorate this great event, he must have minted these coins. But it is intriguing that he minted copper coins but not gold coins on an occasion like this. However, it has to be accepted that it is a unique coin where the name of the emperor and his prime minister appear together. Such instances are not heard of in Indian numismatic history.

The above scholar has reported another copper coin of this ministers Timmarasu.[52] Its weight 3.4 gms; diameter 1.5 cms.

Type Q:

obv: Telugu legend in two lines
Timmarasam
gāru
rev: Legend *mantri* in two lines.

However, this coin does not contain the name of the king Krishṇadēvarāya.

A copper coin of the Bālakrishṇa type has been published by M.V. Krishnappa.[53] It is well known that Krishṇadēvarāya minted Bālakrishṇa type of gold coins to commemorate the great event of his victory over Orissa. Now it has become clear that he minted copper coins of the same type on that occasion. Perhaps future discoveries may bring to light a silver coin of Bālakrishṇa type. The weight of the coin is 3.4 gms; diameter 1.2 cms.

Type R:

obv: Bālakrishṇa in sitting posture with a lump of butter in the right hand; left hand on the knee; conch and *chakra* to the left and right respectively.

rev: Three line Nāgari legend

Śrī pra
tāpa Krishṇa
rāya

Coins of Achyutārāya

The most important type of Achyutarāya's coins contains Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa on the obverse and the name of the king on the reverse. His coins have been found both in gold and in copper. His gold coins are in the denominations of a *varaha* and a *half varaha.*

Type A: This is a *varaha* coin; weight 52 grains; diameter 0.45".

obv: Back view of Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa flying upwards; the wings and feathers of the bird are ornamented; the bird carries in each of its beaks and two claws an elephant.

Coins of Achyutarāya

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them.

Śrī Pra
tāpāchyuta
rāya

Type B: This is almost similar to type A. But on the obverse instead of the back view of the bird, it is represented in profile. The reverse is as in type A.

Type C: This coin is similar to type B but the elephant in the left claw faces towards right instead of left. The reverse contains the legend similar to type B.

Type D: This is a copper coin with a diameter of 0.7"

obv: Within a linear circle Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa as in type A.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines.

Śrī Pratā
pāchyuta
rāya

Type E: This copper coin has a diameter of 0.5".

obv: Within a linear circle, Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa moving to left with lifted tail and holding an elephant in each beak.

rev: Legend as in type A.

Type F: Desikachari has illustrated a coin with a prancing horse on the obverse which he has ascribed to Achyutarāya. The coin in question contains on the obverse a prancing horse and the legend *Śrī Pratāpāchyutarāya* on the reverse. M.H. Krishna reads the inscription in a different way and doubts the attribution of this coin to Achyutarāya.

Type G: Another copper coin has been noticed on which is seen the Nāgari legend *Śrī Pratāpāchyutarāya.* This is similar to Achyutarāya's coin in weight and fabric. Hence this can be attributed to Achyutarāya.

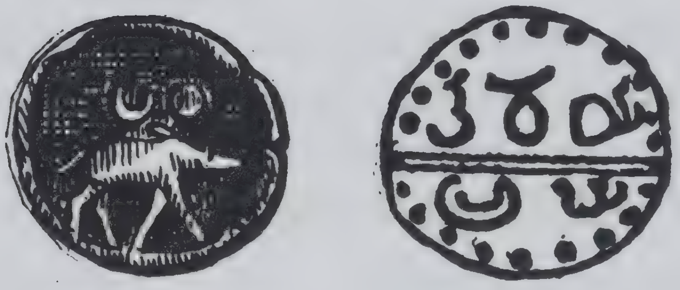
Type H: A slightly different type of copper coin of the ruler is in the collection of Kundanmal Jain. It's weight 2.4 gms; diameter 13 mms; thickness 3.5mm.

obv: Boar to right sun and moon above.

rev: Two line Kannaḍa legend within a linear circle

tarāya
ạchu

Actually the first line has become the second line and vice-versa. Perhaps this might be a mistake. Though different types of mistakes are seen on these coins, this one is unique. It is difficult to explain it satisfactorily. Perhaps realising the mistake, the autherities did not mint these coins and hence they are rare.



Coin of Achyutarāya

Coins of Sadāśivarāya

Sadāśivarāya issued gold and copper coins. His gold coins are in two denominations, namely *varaha* and *half varaha.* There has been some confusion regarding the coins of this king and those of Sadāśiva Nāyaka of Ikkēri. It is generally agreed that the Vijayanagar emperor was a Vaishṇavite whereas Sadāśiva Nāyaka was a Śaivite. Hence those coins which contain Vaishṇava deities are attributed to Vijayanagara ruler. Further it is also possible that the Vijayanagara ruler continued the tradition of having the title *Pratāpa.*

Type A: This is a gold *Varaha* coin with a diameter of 0.45" and a weight of 52.6 grains.

obv: Vishṇu and Lakshmī seated on a raised seat; both with *kirīṭas* and ornaments. Vishṇu holds *Śankha* and *Chakra.*

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them.

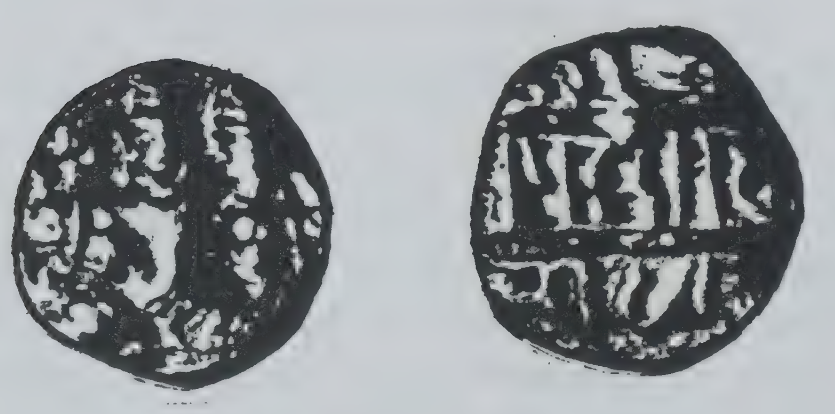
Śrī Pratā
pa *Sadāśi*
varāya

Type B: Half *Varahas* of the above type have also been found in which the legend reads *Śrī Pratāpa Sadāśivarāyaru.*

Type C: This is a *Varaha* coin with a diameter of 0.44" and weight of 52.7 grains. As it contains the title *Pratāpa,* this coin has been assigned to the Vijayanagara king though this is a Śaivite coin.

obv: Śiva with Pārvati seated on a raised pedestal; both wear *kirīṭas* and ornaments; Śiva holds a *ḍamaru* in his right hand.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines as in type A.



Coin of Sadāśivarāya

Copper Coins

Type D: This is a copper coin in which Garuḍa is seen on the obverse.

obv: Garuḍa kneeling to the left wearing a tall *kirīṭa*; he kneels on his left leg; his right foot is on the ground in a heroic posture; small wings are spread out behind the arms; the whole thing is in a circle of dots.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them.

Śrī Sadā
śivarā
yaru

Type E:

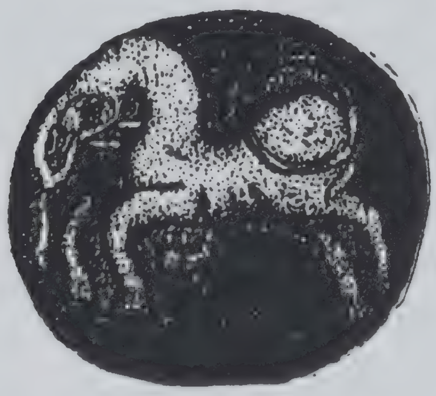
obv: As in type D.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with double lines between the letters and each letter in a small square.

Śrī
Sadāśi
varāya

Type F: Desikachari attributed a coin with a lion on the obverse to this ruler. The reverse contains three line Nāgari legend *Sadāśivarāya.* Krishna doubts the reading of the legend and attributes this to a provincial ruler.

Type G: M.S. Krishnamurthy has brought to light a new type of coin containing horse.[54] Weight 2.97 gms; diameter 13 mms.



Horse type of coin

obv: A galloping caparisoned horse with hanging tassels and decorated upholstery.

rev: Two line Nāgari legend

Sadā
(śiva)

This is a new type not known so far.

Type H: Weight 3.13 gms; diameter 13.5 mms.

obv: Caparisoned charging bull

rev: Nāgari legend in two lines

Pratā
pasa
(dāśiva)

This is also a new type not known so far.[55]

Coins of Rāmarāja

So far no coin of this ruler had been reported though he was very active for two decades. But Mukunda Prabhu has been able to identify three types of copper coins of this ruler for the first time.[56]

Type A: Weight 3.5 gms; diameter 15 mms.

obv: Seated *Nandi* under an arch.

rev: Two line Nāgari legend in Kannaḍa

Rāma
rāja

Type B: weight 1.9 gms; diameter 13 mms.

obv: Two deities (not distinct)

rev: Three line Nāgari legend

Śrī
Rāma
rāja

Type C: Weight 0.4 gms; diameter 9 mms.

obv: Bust of a deity; perhaps Rāma

rev: Three line Nāgari legend.

Śrī
Rāma
rāya

Taking the weight into consideration, this may be taken as one of the small coins of Vijayanagara.

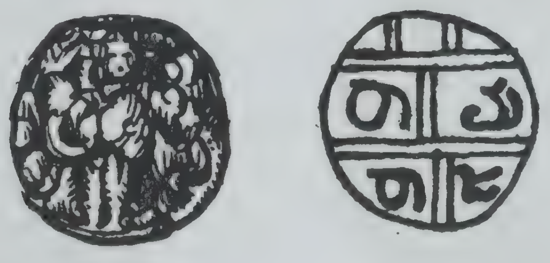
Type D: Ganesh and Girijapathy have reported a copper coin of this ruler. Weight 2.7 gms; diameter 13 mms.

obv: Within a circle of dots, lord Venkaṭēśvara standing

rev: Kannaḍa legend in three lines

Śrī
Rāma
rāja

The obverse containing Venkaṭēśvara attests to the growing popularity of this deity during the period.



Copper coin of Rāmarāja

Coins of Tirumalarāya I

Tirumalarāya of the Āravīḍu family issued a large number of gold and copper coins in various denominations. He also changed the deity on his coins. As we know he changed his capital to Penukoṇḍa some time after the death of Sadāśivarāya. Thus he changed his protecting deity from Virūpāksha to Śrī Rāma, as evidenced by his coins. Thus his coins contain Śrī Rāma with Sīta and Lakshmaṇa on the obverse. In a way it may be surmised that Tirumalarāya was the originator of the *Rāmaṭanki* coins which became highly popular in South India in post-Vijayanagar period.

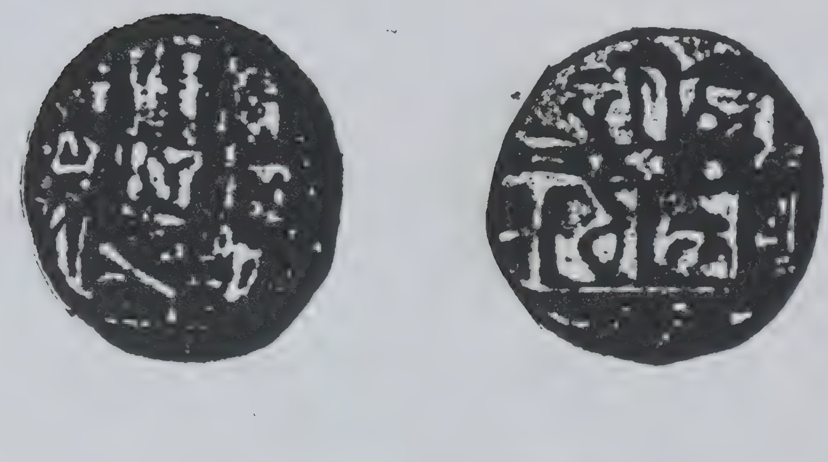
Gold Coins

Type A: This is a *varaha* with a weight of 51.6 grains and a diameter of 0.45".

obv: On a raised seat Śrī Rāma is seated with Sīta; Lakshmaṇa stands behind in the attitude of devotion and holds a bow in his right shoulder; Śrī Rāma wears a tall *kirīṭa*; Śrī Rāma's right hand is in *Abhayamudrā.*

Rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them.

Śrī Ti
rumalarā
yalu



Gold coin of Tirumalārāya

Type B: This is similar to type A in obverse and reverse. But this is a *half varaha* coin with a diameter of 0.4" and weight of 26.2 grains.

Copper coins

Type C: This is a copper coin with a diameter of 0.65" and weight of 46.2 grains.

obv: Within a circle of dots a big conch to the left and *chakra* to the right with crescent moon above and the sun below.

rev: Within a linear circle surrounded by a circle of dots is a dagger in the centre and on both sides of it is a legend in Nāgari in three lines

. . . .
la ma
rāya

Type D: In this type a Garuḍa is added on the obverse.

obv: Within a circle of dots Garuḍa kneeling to the left with dagger in front and conch and discus on both sides of the head.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them within a double lined circle with a ring of dots between them.

Śrī Ti
rumala
rāya

Type E: In this type boar figures on the obverse.

obv: Within a linear circle surrounded by a ring of dots a boar charging to right with lifted tail; the boar wears girdle ornaments; and a dagger and the sun above.

rev: Within a linear circle surrounded by a circle of dots Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them as in type D.

Type F: This coin is similar to type E but the legend on the reverse is written in Kannaḍa script and not Nāgari.

Type G: In the collection of Ganesh and Girijapathy is another copper coin. Weight 3.6 gms; diameter 15mm.

obv: Within a linear circle a dagger in the centre with a garland (?) round it.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines

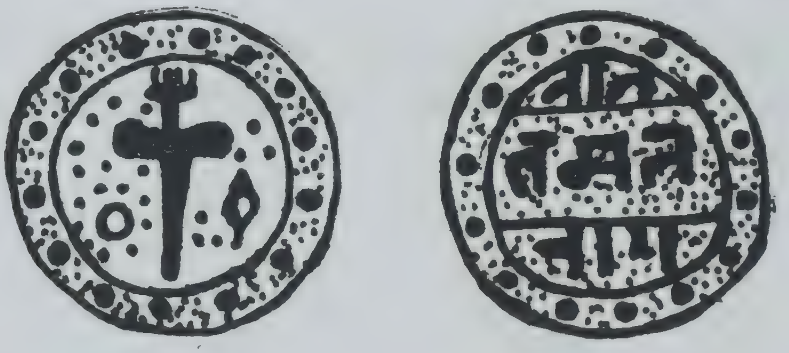
Śrī Ti
rumala
rāya

Type H: A slightly different type is also seen in their collection.

obv: A dagger in the centre with *chakra* and *śankha* on right and left.

rev: As above.

There are many sub-types in this variety with minor variations in symbols.



Copper coin of Tirumalārāya

Type I: In this type an elephant is shown on the obverse.

obv: Within a linear circle surrounded by a ring of dots an elephant to left with sun and moon above and a dagger in front.

rev: In a lined circle with ring of dots three line Nāgari legend.

Śrī cha
la ma
rāya

The exact significance of the name Chalamarāya is not known.

M.H. Krishna attributes a coin with a bull to Tirumalarāya. He reads the legend as the reversed form of Tirumala. But it is highly doubtful and hence cannot be taken as an issue of Tirumalarāya.

Coin of Rāmarāya Venkaṭādri

This is a unique copper coin because of the peculiar name Rāmarāya Venkaṭādri which occurs on its reverse. It is generally agreed that Rāmarāya, the *de facto* ruler, under Sadāśiva did not issue coins in his own name. The coin in question raises a doubt about this. It is quite likely that the viceroy Venkaṭādri issued this coin during the reign of Sadāśivarāya with the sanction of the *de facto* ruler Rāmarāya. Otherwise it becomes difficult to explain why Venkaṭādri associated with his own name that of his elder brother who was very powerful. This combined name occurs in inscriptions also. An inscription of Sadāśivarāya from Koṭēśvara states that Yekadhalakhaṇa Oḍeya was administering Bārakūr province under orders from Rāmarāja Venkaṭādrirāja. Another inscription mentions Sadāśiva Nāyaka governing Tuḷurājya under the orders of Rāmarāja-Venkaṭādrirāja. From these epigraphic references it becomes clear that this double name refers to Venkaṭādri. From this it becomes evident that it was Venkaṭādri who issued this copper coin.

It is a circular copper coin with a weight of 203 grains. It is less in weight than Krishṇadēvarāya's coin of 225 grains and more than Venkaṭapati's coin of 150 grains.

obv: Kneeling and long beaked Garuḍa without *kirīṭa;* its head looks like a tuft of hair at the back; a sheathed sword is seen hanging on the left hip.

rev: Two line Kannaḍa legend with a line in between.

Ramarā(ya)
Venkaṭādri

Coins of Śrīrangarāya I

Type A: Only one type of gold coin of Śrīrangarāya is known. It is a *varaha* coin with a weight of 52.8 grains and a diameter 0.5".

Śrīrangarāya revived the tradition of Tirupati Venkaṭēśvara coins, earlier issued by Krishṇadēvarāya.

obv: God Venkaṭēśvara standing facing front with a tall *kirīṭa* and upper and lower cloth and ornaments; the right backhand holds the *chakra* and the left hand holds the *śankha;* the right front hand is in *Dānamudrā* while the left rests on his hip; above the image is an ornamental arch supported by ornamental pillars.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal lines separating them.

Śrīram
garā
ya

Copper Coin

Two types of copper coins of Śrīrangarāya I have been recently reported by Karunakaran.[57] The weight of the first coin is 2.15 gms; its diameter is 1.1 cm.

Type B:

obv: Vishṇu standing; two hands hold *śankha* and *chakra;* other hands are in *abhayamudrā* and *kaṭihasta.*

rev: Telugu legend in two lines.

Ranga
rāya

Type C: Weight 2.15 gms; diameter 1.2 cms.

obv: Dancing Krishṇa; *śankha* and *chakra* are seen.

rev: Telugu legend in two lines

Ranga
rāya

Type D: Mukunda Prabhu's collection has a Hanumān type which was not known so far. Weight 2.8 gms; diameter 11 mm.

obv: Hanumān to left; tail lifted up and reaching the outspread right hand; enclosed within a circle of dots.

rev: Kannaḍa legend *Śrī Ranga* within a circle of dots.

Three more types of copper coins of this ruler have been recently reported by Ganesh and Girijapathy.

Type E: Weight 10.1 gms; diameter 21 mms.

obv: Within a circle Garuḍa seated in *padmāsana.*

rev: Within an ornamental square three line legend

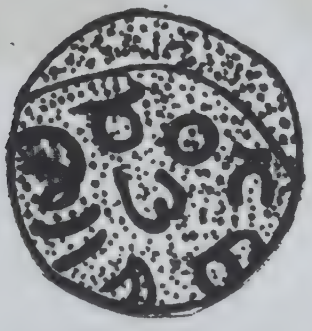
Śrī
rangarā
ya

Type F: Weight 2.16 gms; diameter 13 mms.

obv: Within a circle a couchant bull to right.

rev: Kannaḍa legend in a circular way

Śrī Rangarāya



Copper coin of Śrīrangarāya

Type G: Weight 2.0 gms; diameter 11 mms.

obv: Within a dotted circle Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa to right.

rev: Within a circle two line Kannaḍa legend

Śrī
Rangarāya

Coins of Venkaṭapatirāya II

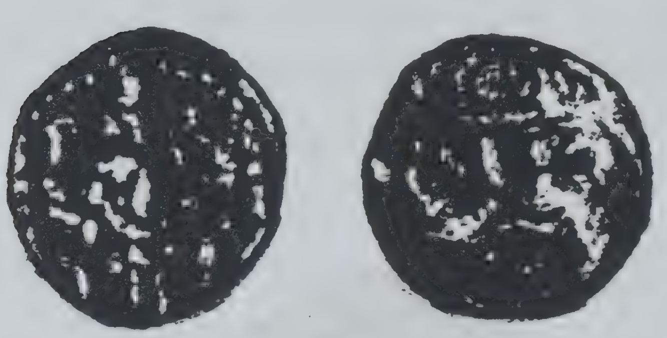
Venkaṭapatirāya II also known as Venkaṭarāya of the Āravīḍu family continued the tradition of Venkaṭēśvara type of gold coins, in addition to copper coins of Garuḍa and Hanumān type. An interesting point is that in his coins he is simply referred to as Venkaṭarāya and not as Venkaṭapatirāya. His gold coins are also called *Venkaṭarāya Varahas.*

Type A: This coin weighs 52 grains and measures 0.45" in diameter.

obv: God Venkaṭēśvara standing under a plain arch supported by pillars of dots; the details of Venkaṭēśvara are similar to those of Krishṇadēvarāya.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal double lines separating them.

Chalama
Venkaṭa
rāya



Coin of Venkaṭapatirāya

Type B: This is a half *varaha* coin with a diameter of 0.46" and a weight of 27.2 grains.

obv: Venkaṭēśvara standing under an ornamental arch with ornamental pillars as in the coins of Krishṇadēvarāya.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with horizontal double lines separating them.

Vīra
Venkaṭa
rāya

Copper coins

At least two types of copper coins of this ruler have come to light. Generally they are large and thick and do not exhibit good workmanship. This may reflect the troubled political conditions of the times.

Type C: This coin is of 0.8" diameter and a weight of 158 grains.

obv: Within a circle of dots, a standing Garuḍa to the left with a tall *kirīṭa;* his right foot is in a heroic position; wings are clearly seen.

rev: A three line legend in mixed Nāgari and Kannaḍa characters.

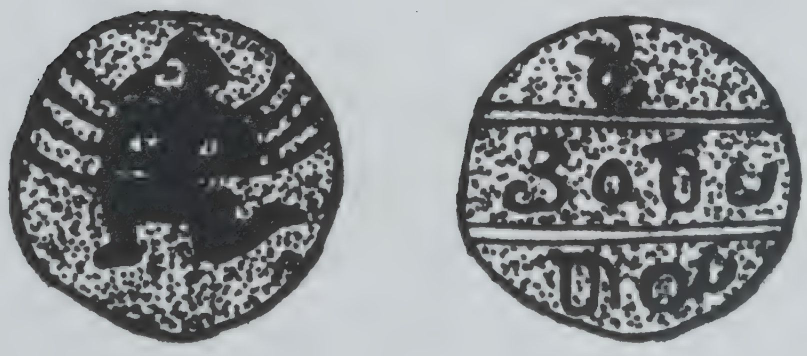
Śrī
Venkaṭa
rāya

Type D: The weight of this copper coin is 165 grains and it measures 0.7" in diameter. It is almost similar to type C with some minor variations.

obv: Kneeling Garuḍa in a heroic posture without a *kirīṭa;* a faint tuft is seen at the back of the head.

rev: Two line Kannaḍa legend with horizontal lines between.

Śrī Venka
ṭa



Copper coin of Venkaṭapatirāya

Type E: This is smaller than type C.

obv: Hanumān standing to the left with knees bent; the left hand resting on left knee and right hand raised as if to strike an enemy; the tail is lifted up behind the head.

rev: Within an ornamented square Nāgari legend in two lines.

Śrī Venka
ṭarāya

Type F: Weight 12.6 gms; diameter 1.8 cm.

obv: God and goddess sitting on the throne (perhaps Vishṇu and Lakshmī)

rev: Two line Kannaḍa legend

Vīra
Venkaṭa

Two more types of copper coins of this king have been reported by Ganesh and Girijapathy.

Type G: Weight 12 gms; diameter 18 mms.

obv: Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa seated: right hand holds a *chakra* and the other in *abhayamudrā;* the left holds a *śankha* and the other around Lakshmī.

rev: Three line Nāgari legend

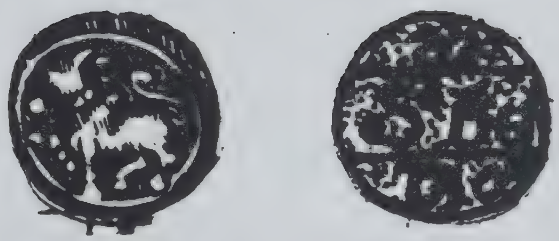
Śrī
Venkaṭa
rāya

Type H: Weight 13.6 gms; diameter 21 mms

obv: A bull to left with sun and moon above.

rev: Kannaḍa legend in three lines

Śrī
Venkaṭa
rāya



Copper coin of Venkaṭapatirāya

Type I: P.V. Radhakrishna has described two unpublished coins of this ruler.[58]

obv: Hanumān with twin peaked mountain.

rev: Two line Kannaḍa legend

Venka
ṭapa

Type J:

obv: Seated bull within twin-peaked hill.

rev: Two line Kannaḍa legend

Aru -
ṇādri

Aruṇādri has been identified as the Śiva temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, a famous architectural centre during the Vijayanagara period.

Coin of Śrīrangarāya II

Only one type of copper coin of this ruler is known. This coin does not contain the name of the ruler. But it refers to him as *Chikkarāya.* It is known that Śrīrangarāya II was a co-regent and ruled the Telugu area. The legend is written in Telugu. From these points it could be assigned to Śrīrangarāya.

obv: Couchant bull with a dagger.

rev: Telugu legend in two lines

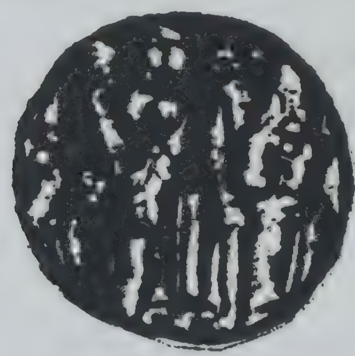
Chikarā
yalu

Coins of Venkaṭapatirāya III

Type A: Only a gold *varaha* and copper coins of this ruler are known.

obv: God Venkaṭēśa with Śrīdēvi and Bhūdēvi on right and left respectively.

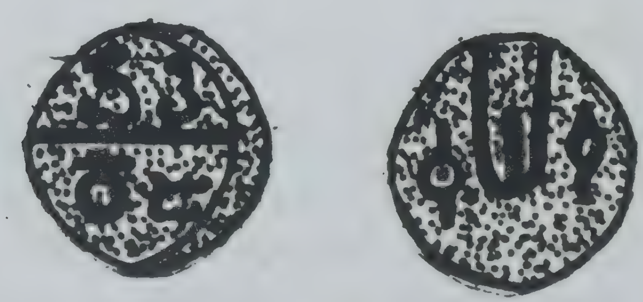
rev: Not clear



Gold coin of Venkaṭapatirāya

Type B: Recently a copper coin of this ruler has been reported.[59] Its weight is 0.55 gms; diameter 1 cm.

The later Vijayanagara rulers were inclined more towards Vaishṇavism and hence the present coin with Vaishṇava mark is attributed to this ruler.



Copper coin of Venkaṭapatirāya III

obv: Vaishṇava *nāma* symbol with *śankha* and *chakra.*

rev: Telugu legend in two lines

pati
rāju

Taking the palaeography and Telugu script and language, it has been ascribed to Venkaṭapatirāya III.

It is known from epigraphs that Venkaṭapatirāya was also called as Rāmarāja Venkaṭarāya, as he was a descendent of Rāmarāya. On this ground coins with the legend *Rāmarāju Venkaṭarāju* have been assigned to this ruler by Ganesh and Girijapathy.[60]

Type C: Weight 11.9 gms; diameter 20 mms.

obv: Garuḍa kneeling to right

rev: Within an ornamental square three line Kannaḍa legend

Rāmarāja
Venkaṭarā
ya

Type D: Weight 13.3 gms; diameter 20 mms.

obv: Garuḍa seated in *padmāsana*

rev: As above in type C.

Type E: Weight 10.4 gms; diameter 20 mms.

obv: Garuḍa seated with left leg folded in *sukhāsana* pose.

rev: As above in type C.

Coins of Śrīraṅgarāya III

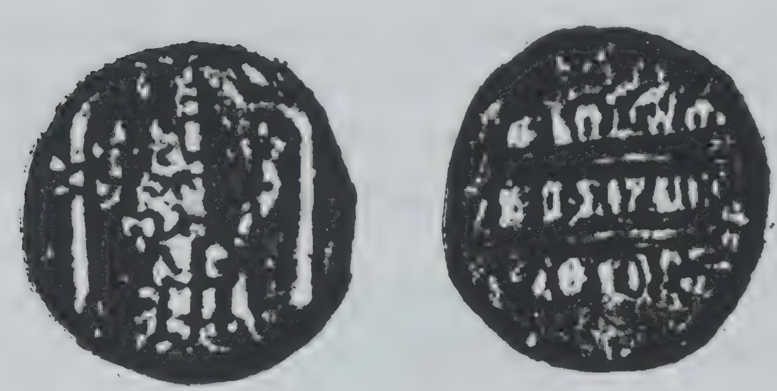
Gold *varahas* and *half varahas* of this ruler are known. As they were minted in Gaṇḍikōṭa they are referred to as *Gaṇḍikōṭa varahas.* These coins are not of pure gold. The inferiority of the metal reflects the difficult political conditions. The *varaha* weighs 51.5 grains and measures 0.5" in diameter.

Type A:

obv: Venkaṭēśvara under an arch.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines

Śrī Venka
ṭēśvarā
ya namaḥ



Gold coin of Śrīrangarāya

Type B: A copper coin of this ruler has been reported by Ganesh and Girijapathy.[61] So far a copper coin of this ruler was not known. Its weight is 3.97 gms and diameter 14 mms.

obv: God Venkaṭēśvara in an arch.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines

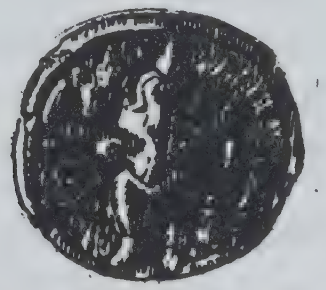
Śrī Venka
ṭēśvarā
ya namaḥ

Miscellaneous coins

a) There are some coins which belong to the Vijayanagara typology but their details are not known for want of clear legends. Such coins are mentioned here. R. Gopal has published a Gaṇēśa type of Vijayanagara coin.[62] It is a gold coin of the value of *Varaha.* Its weight is 3.4 gms; diameter 13 mms. It was found in Hampi.

obv: Within a linear circle standing Gaṇēśa; he has four hands; tall *kirīṭa* is clearly seen.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines.



Gaṇēśa type of coin

The legend is not clear and hence it can not be ascribed to any particular king of the Vijayanagara dynasty. Gaṇēśa was an important deity during the period as seen in sculpture. Many Vijayanagara epigraphs begin with the obeisance to Gaṇēśa. Thus it is a good addition to the gold coins of the Vijayanagara series.

b) The two copper coins discovered from the excavations at Talkāḍ also belong to this category though the two other coins have been doubtfully ascribed to Narasimha.[63] The coins weigh 3.14 and 3.12 gms and their diameter is 14 and 13mm respectively.

obv: Standing lion to the left.

rev: Illegible Nāgari legend.

c) Mukunda Prabhu has described an interesting copper coin of the Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa type with the legend *Ammīra* on it.[64] Its weight is 9.95 gms; diameter 18 mms.

obv: Within a double linear circle Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa carrying an elephant in each of its beaks.

rev: Kannaḍa legend in bold letters between two horizontal lines *Ammīra;* at the bottom is a symbol looking like two eyes with *nāma* (caste mark) flanked by sun and moon.

Though this is a Vijayanagara coin it can not be ascribed to any particular king at present.

d) There are many silver coins which contain on the obverse the name and denomination. The obverse contains the letter *ha* in Nāgari followed by numerals two and a half or one and a quarter.[65] But the reverse does not contain any legend but some peculiar symbols which do not give any clue to the identity of the issuer. Only Harihara and Dēvarāya's coins of this typology have been identified but the others have not been identified. In fact they are generally referred to as *Vīrarāya haṇas* though there is no clue to identify this Vīrarāya.

A single coin containing an elephant with its tail lifted moving to the left on the obverse and a legend in Nāgari *Rāma mara* on the reverse has been ascribed to Rāmachandra I of the Vijayanagara dynasty. But the legend is not clear and thus it is highly doubtful whether Rāmachandra issued coins at all.

There is no wonder that such a rich variety of the Vijayanagara coins with excellent portrayals of gods and goddesses, fine legends made a deep impact on the subsequent dynasties of South India.[66] The Pāḷegārs and the Nāyakas, who ruled in different parts of South India, such as the Keḷadi chiefs, Madurai Nāyakas, Mysore Waḍeyars, Tanjavūru Nāyakas imitated the Vijayanagara coinage, in typology and weight pattern. Thus Vijayanagara coinage continued its tradition through these dynasties till we come to the modern period. That is a great tribute paid by the successive dynasties to the coinage of Vijayanagara.

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6. K.V. Ramesh: *op.cit.,* p. 277.
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8. *Mānaumichaupada.*

9. *SII.,* XVI, 240.
10. *Vij. Ins.,* II, 1026.
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14. *Vij. Ins.,* II, 1019.
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16. *Vij. Ins.* II, 526.
17. *Ibid.,* I, 352.
18. *Ibid.,* II, 867.
19. *EC.,* III, Gu 149.
20. R. Nagaswamy: *Tamil Coins,* p. 156.
21. *Vij. Ins.,* I, 366.
22. *Ibid.,* II, 755.
23. *Ibid.,* I, 368.
24. *Ibid.,* I, 35.
25. *Ibid.,* II, 1035.
26. *SII.,* VII, 753.
27. Elliot: *History of India,* IV, p. 109.
28. Duarte Barbosa: *A Description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar,* London, 1918, I, p. 156 (Barbosa)
29. *Varthema: His Travels in South Asia,* (ed.) R.G. Temple, London, p. 130 (Varthema).
30. Vasco da Gama: *Three Voyages,* p. 181.
31. Major R.H: *India in the Fifteenth Century,* p. 26.
32. Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire,* p. 260.
33. Major: *op.cit.,* p. 26.
34. *SSIC.,* VI, pp. 88-89.
35. *Ibid.,* VII, p. 87.
36. *Ibid.,* VI, p. 89.

37. *Ibid.,* VI, p. 89.
38. *Ibid.,* VI, p. 85.
39. *ND.,* 14, p. 46. A similar coin was published by O. Hariharaiah. But he wrongly read the legend as *Tāra* and missed the most important point of this coin (*JNSI,* 55, p. 84). However, Dhopate indicated with hesitation that it may represent the denomination. But subsequently he seems to have changed his position.
40. *ND.,* II (ii), p. 75.
41. *SSIC.,* VI, p. 89.
42. Angal's collection.
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50. *Ibid.,* VI, p. 110.
51. *Ibid.,* V, p. 111.
52. *Ibid.,* VI, p. 92.
53. *Ibid.,* VII, p. 53.
54. *Ibid.,* III, p. 120.
55. *Ibid.,* III, p. 121.
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61. *Ibid.*
62. *SSIC.,* VI, p. 99.
63. *Ibid.,* p. 109.

64. *Some Copper Coins of Vijayanagara* (in press).

65. S.G. Dhopate's article (in press), R.Gopal has read a paper entitled *Vīrarāya paṇams* in conference held at Mysore (in press).

66. For a detailed study on this topic and also for information on epigraphic data and Foreign travellers data on Vijayanagar Coinage, see A.V. Narasimha Murthy: *Coins and Currency System in Vijayanagar Empire,* Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi, 1991 and also *Vijayanagara Nāṇyasampattu* (Kannaḍa), Mysore University, 1996.

CHAPTER XVII

COINS OF KEḶADI NĀYAKAS

Many Feudatory Families ruled either as subordinates of the Vijayanagara kings or as independent Pāḷegārs after the downfall of the Vijayanagara kingdom. Except for the Nāyakas of Keḷadi who grew into a powerful kingdom after the downfall of the Vijayanagara kingdom, others were all minor principalities. The latter are important locally. Unfortunately, a detailed study of all these dynasties is yet to be made. Their history is known to us mostly through their relation to bigger powers that were ruling then.

Of all these kingdoms, Keḷadi has been studied by various scholars in a more detailed way than others. Hayavadana Rao,[1] Lakshminarayana Rao,[2] E.M. Alvares[3] and K.D. Swaminathan,[4] have written on various aspects of the Keḷadi dynasty. The work on the Keḷadi polity by K.N. Chitnis is the latest work on this dynasty and reviews in detail, the administrative machinery under the Nāyakas of Keḷadi.[5] This work contains some information on the coinage of the Keḷadi Nāyakas. There is not a single competent work on the other chiefs but for some stray articles in various Journals on individual dynasties. The coins of many of these chiefs are not even known.

The Keḷadi rulers followed the Vijayanagara coinage in weight, typology and legend and script. This is not without any reason. By this time the Vijayanagara coins had become popular in the entire country and were praised even by foreign travellers. Naturally, being the contemporaries of the Vijayanagara rulers, the Keḷadi chiefs adopted the Vijayanagara typology with minor changes. In weight standard, both weigh 52 grains for the highest gold coin, with provision for half and quarter *varaha* coins. Both of them follow the pattern where the obverse is reserved for gods and the goddesses, animals and other symbols whereas the reverse is meant for the legend. In fact it becomes difficult to distinguish the coins of

Vijayanagara rulers Sadāśivarāya, Venkaṭapatirāya from the coins of Keḷadi Sadāśiva Nāyaka and Venkaṭappa Nāyaka. In fact but for the word *Pratāpa* which is found on the coins of Vijayanagara, it would become almost impossible to differentiate between them.

The epigraphs of the Keḷadi rulers furnish the names of the coins that were used in various transactions during the period and also furnish some data to understand their relative values. In this respect also no major difference is found between the coins of Vijayanagara and Keḷadi chiefs.

Varaha is a gold coin of the Keḷadi chiefs, having the highest monetary value. It is equal to a *gadyāṇa.* But the importance of *gadyāṇa* was slowly decreasing and *varaha* had become quite popular. *Varaha* weighed 52 grains and generally its diameter varied from half an inch to 0.4". They were popularly called *Ikkēri varaha.* Majority of the Keḷadi epigraphs mention this coin.

Honnu or simply *Hon* was the next lower gold coin. Its weight was 26 grains. Its diameter was 0.4". The word *pratāpa* used by the Vijayanagara kings to denote this coin does not find a place here because it does not contain the word *pratāpa* as part of the legend.

Dharaṇa was the next lower gold coin. We do not hear of this coin during the Vijayanagara period. *Dharaṇa* is a very ancient coin and it is mentioned in the epigraphs of Karnataka from ninth century onwards.[6] This was equal to half of a *honnu* or one fourth of a *varaha* and weighed 13 grains.

Haṇa or *paṇa* is the next gold coin of the period. It was one tenth of a *varaha* and weighed 5 grains. The same relative value was in vogue during the Vijayanagara period also. From the large number of references that we get to this coin, it becomes clear that this coin was quite popular and used for most of the transactions during the period.

The next coin was known as *aḍḍa.* It was half of a *haṇa.* An inscription of Venkaṭappa Nāyaka dated 1615 A.D., states that the revenue of the village Kallakoppa was 49 *varahas,* 1 *haṇa* and 1 *aḍḍa.*[7] In another inscription of Sōmaśēkhara Nāyaka dated 1723 A.D., it is stated that the revenue of the village was 274 *varahas,* 1 *haṇa* and 1 *mupāga. Mupāga* literally means, three fourths and hence it may be taken as three fourths of a *haṇa.*[8] But there is no certainty in this .

Hāga was the next gold coin after *aḍḍa.* It was half of an *aḍḍa.* During the earlier periods one *haṇa* was equal to four *hāgas* and the same relative value continued during this period also. This coin is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of the period.[9]

Bēḷe was the next smaller gold coin and it was equal to half of a *hāga.* This coin was used in the Vijayanagara period also.

Vīsa was next to *bēḷe.* It was used by earlier dynasties like the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, Hoysaḷas and rulers of Vijayanagara. This was the smallest gold coin of the period. Half of a *vīsa* was called *Arevīsa.* The latter was in use during the Vijayanagara period also.

Then we may refer to the coins of silver. Unfortunately no silver coin of the Keḷadi period has come to light. Even epigraphs of the period do not mention silver coins. But Peter Mundy who visited Bhatkal during the reign of the Keḷadi chief Vīrabhadra Nāyaka states that he had seen a silver coin which was called *tār.* Further he has also stated that one *tār* was equal to four copper *kāsus.*[10] As we know, Vijayanagara silver coins were called *tār* or *tāra* and were described by Varthema, Abdul Razzak and others. On the basis of this, it may be stated that this coin *tār* was also in use during the Keḷadi period.

Kāsu was the copper coin of the period. Peter Mundy also refers to this coin. From the inscriptions it becomes clear that 2 *kāsus* were equsl to *arevīsa.* Thus from all these data found in the inscriptions of the period, we may reconstruct the following table of coins of the Keḷadi rulers.

Varaha = *Gadyāṇa* = 52 grains
Varaha = 2 *honnu* = 52 grains
1 *hon* = 2 *dharaṇas* = 26 grains

1 *hon* = 5 *haṇas* = 26 grains
3/4 *haṇa* = 1 *Mupāga* = 3.75 grains
1 *haṇa* = 2 *aḍḍa* = 5 grains
1 *aḍḍa* = 2 *hāga* = 2.5 grains
1 *hāga* = 2 *bēḷe* = 1.25 grains
1 *hāga* = 4 *vīsa* = 1.25 grains
1 *vīsa* = 2 *arevīsa* = 0.6 grains
1 *hāga* = 16 *kāsu* = 1.25 grains

We do not have the details regarding the mints of Keḷadi and their location. But we get a reference to *Ṭankasāle adhikāri (mint master)* in the inscriptions of the period. There was a central mint at Nagar or Bednur.[11] It had a minting machine of the Keḷadi period. An inscription from Hosanagar provides some very interesting information regarding the minting of coins.[12] The inscription is engraved on a metallic machine which is called *ṭankasāle kallu* (minting machine). It has six sides measuring 20" x 20" x 8" x 8" x 9" x 1". It has a flat bottom. There are six notches of different sizes in it . It has two iron handles for operating the machine. It is locally famous as a machine of minting rupees by pressing another similar machine over it. This machine was originally in Nagar and it was brought to Hosanagar when the Taluk Office was shifted to the latter place. The inscription on the side of the machine refers to the date which corresponds to August 30, 1726 A.D. The inscription states that Subbāchāri made this iron bar of five metals for manufacturing rupees. The date of the inscription corresponds to the reign period of the Keḷadi chief Sōmaśēkahara Nāyaka II. From this, it becomes clear that during the period, there was a mint in Nagar.

The coins of Keḷadi chiefs have not been found in plenty. The most popular coin called *Ikkēri Varaha* is a gold coin belonging to the time of Sadāśiva Nāyaka. Three types of his gold coins are known. They contain the legend *Sadāśiva* in Nāgari and resemble the Vijayanagar coin of the king Sadāśivarāya. As the coins in question do not contain the word *pratāpa* which is very frequently found on the

Vijayanagara coins, scholars are of the view that coins which do not contain the word *pratāpa* should be ascribed to Keḷadi Nāyaka.

Type A: This is a *Varaha* coin.

obv: Śiva and Pārvati seated; Śiva holds a trident in his right hand and an antelope in his left.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with two horizontal lines separating them *Śrī Sadāśiva.*

Type B:

obv: As in A.

rev: Nāgari letters *Śrī.*

Type C: Half *Varaha* or *hon* of the same ruler has been found. It is similar to the *Varaha* coin in obverse and reverse. But the antelope is not seen in this. Further it is smaller in size.

M.H. Krishna also mentions a Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa type of coin of the Ikkēri chief. But the details are not known. It is quite likely that Sadāśiva Nāyaka, a contemporary of Vijayanagara king, Achyutarāya must have adopted Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa found on the Vijayanagara coins.

Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa as we know is carved on a ceiling in the Vīrabhadra temple at Keḷadi. So there is nothing improbable in Sadāśiva Nāyaka issuing Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa type of coins. The author has come across a copper coin which may be ascribed to Śivappa Nāyaka.[13] It is 0.5" in diameter.

obv: Bull standing to left; above is seen a Nāgari legend *Śiva.*

rev: Nāgari legend *Śrī.* Śiva in the centre.

Another copper coin ascribed to Venkaṭappa Nāyaka has also been noticed.[14] It is 0.4" in diameter.

obv: Śiva and Pārvati seated.

rev: Nāgari legend in two lines

Śrī Vem
Kaṭa.

Vijayanagara ruler Venkaṭapatirāya is not known to have issued coins with Śiva and Pārvati. Hence this coin can be assigned to Keḷadi chief Venkaṭappa Nāyaka. But it cannot be said with certainty whether it belongs to Venkaṭappa Nāyaka I or II.

Some copper coins contain the legend *Venkaṭapa* either in Nāgari or Kannaḍa. As they conform to Vijayanagara typology, they have been assigned to Vijayanagara king Venkaṭapatirāya. But it has to be noted that Vijayanagara king Venkaṭapatirāya was not called Venkaṭapa. Hence some of these coins should rightly belong to Venkaṭappa Nāyaka of Keḷadi. It is necessary to study some of these coins which have been ascribed to Vijayanagara kings in the light of Keḷadi history. That will surely add some more coins to the Keḷadi list of coins known so far.

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1. *Mysore Gazetteer,* Vol. II.
2. *Vijayanagara Sex centenary Commemoration Volume.*
3. *The Nāyakas of Ikkeri.*
4. *The Nāyakas of Ikkēri.*
5. *Keḷadi Polity,* 1974.
6. *IA,* Vol. 8, p. 287. *Pūsavanakkam Chaulukkam Dharaṇam* and *SII,* XI, i, no 35 mentions a gift of *dharaṇa* coins to the local Śiva temple. But during this period it was half of a *varaha.* But during the Keḷadi period it was one fourth of a *varaha.* This has to be noted.
7. *EC,* VIII, Tl. 82.
8. *Ibid.,* Tl. 6.
9. *Ibid.,* Tl. 78, Tl. 47, Tl. 63, Tl. 81, Tl. 95 etc.
10. Peter Mundy: *The Travels in Europe and Asia* (ed); R.C. Temple, London, 1919, p. 102.
11. *MAR,* 1931, p. 171.
12. *Ibid.,* 1930, p. 78.
13. In the collection of Sri Kulakarni of Bijapur.
14. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XVIII

BAHMANI COINS

The Bahmani Kingdom played an important role in the medievel history of the Deccan for about two centuries. With their capital at Gulbarga the Sultanas of this dynasty ruled from 1347 to 1527 A.D. The history and culture of the Bahmanis has been studied by various writers, the most prominent of them being H.K. Sherwani. He used the coins of this dynasty and reconstructed an authentic history. The coins of the Bahmanis had been a subject of research even before Sherwani wrote his monograph. It was in 1905, Burn noticed some coins of the Bahmani kings, found in Buldhana district.[1] In 1908, Thanwala described some silver coins of Bahman Shah, Mahmud Shah and others.[2] In 1913, C.H. Brown described two hoards of Bahmani coins found in Bhandara district.[3] However, a well documented Catalogue of Bahmani coins was published by Whittel in 1923.[4] This Catalogue included all the coins of the dynasty known by then. In 1935, E.E. Speight wrote a lengthy article on the coins of the Bahmanis.[5] This is a good account and discusses all the material on the subject till that date. Next we may refer to Sherwani's work, which takes into account all the published coins of the Bahmanis.[6] On the basis of the coins, he has been able to write and correct many wrong notions which were based upon literary sources. Further this is a good example to demonstrate how numismatics could be used as a source of history. The next important contribution on this subject is by Abdul Wali Khan. He published a Catalogue of Bahmani coins found in the Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Museum in Hyderabad in 1963.[7] This is the latest comprehensive work on the subject and discusses all the coins found up to date. There are other writers who have enriched our knowledge of the subject by their discoveries. Mention should be made of Tarapore, C.R. Singhal, A.H. Siddiqui, Dinakara Rao and Amjad Ali. From all these writings, a fairly good account of the Bahmani coins could be attempted.

The Bahmani coins are generally based upon the pattern of the coinage of the Delhi Sultans. This is more so in the case of early Bahmani rulers, In form, script, legend and weight, most of the Bahmani coins resemble the Delhi Sultanate coins of the Khiljis and Tughalaks. The Bahmani Sultans issued coins in gold, silver and copper. The Bahmani rulers adopted the weight standard of both *Tankah* of the Delhi Sultans and also the *dinar* of Muhammad Tughalak i.e., 170 and 197 grains respectively, for gold coins. Their silver coins weigh 170 grains. The coins of lower denominations weigh 110, 55, 26 and 15 grains. There is a great variety in the copper coins. Their heaviest copper coins weigh 269 grains and the smallest 26 grains. The other weights in copper are 250, 170, 150, 120, 90, 80, 52, 42, 37 and 25 grains.

The Bahmani coins are generally circular with legends on both sides. Some coins are rectangular in shape.[8] But they are rare. Usually the legends consist of high sounding titles, quotations from Koran, the names of the issuer and at times his father's name, the name of the mint and the date of the issue. Atleast three mints, Ahsanabad (Gulbarga), Muhammadabad (Bidar) and Fathabad (Daulatabad)[9] are known from the period. Now let us review the coins of each Bahmani king.

Alauddin Bahman Shah

Silver coins

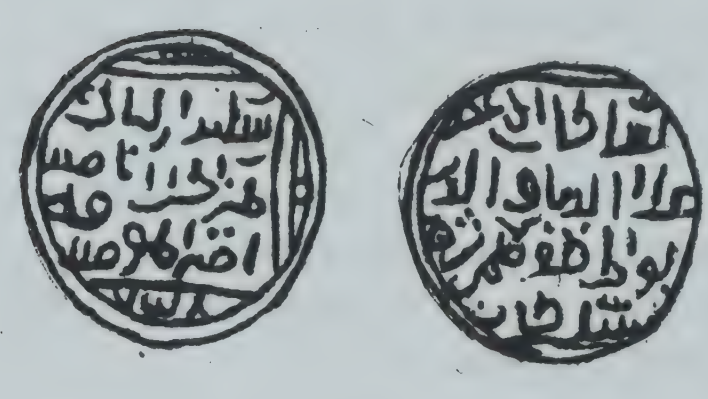
Only one type of silver coins of this ruler is known. No gold coin, however, has come to light. We find three weights. The usual ones weigh 170 grains whereas the remaining two types weight 25 and 15 grains.

obv: In a double square within a circle legend in three lines.

Sikandaruth-thani
Yaminul-khilafat
Nasir Amiril Muminin 758 (in margin).

rev: Within a circle legend in four lines.

As-Sultanul A zam
Alaud-dunya-wad-din
Abul Muzaffar Bah
man Shah As-Sultan.

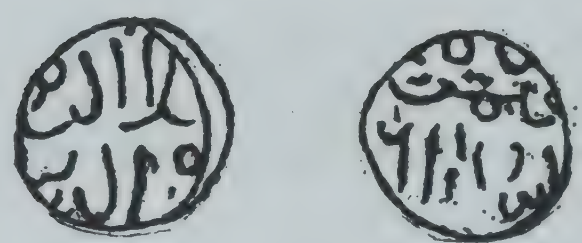


Silver Coin of Alauddin Bahman Shah

Copper coins

Two types of copper coins of this ruler are so far known. One type weighs 52 grains and the other about 26 grains. These coins do not contain either the date or the name of the mint.

Type B: This type weighing 52 grains measures about 0.6" in diameter.



Copper coin of Alauddin Bahman Shah

obv: Legend in two lines

Alaud-dunya
Wad-din.

rev: Legend in two lines

Bahman Shah
as-Sultan.

Type C: This type is similar to type B in both obverse and reverse. But this is half of that coin as it weighs about 26 grains. Its size is about 0.48" in diameter.

Muhammad Shah I

Muhammad Shah I issued coins in gold, silver and copper. His gold coins are found in three varieties. The heaviest of them weighs 196 grains and was issued from Ahsanabad mint. The other gold coins weigh 170 grains.

Type A: This is the heaviest gold coin of this ruler with a weight of 196 grains. This coin mentions the date and the name of the mint as Ahsanabad. But the royal title of the king is not seen on the coins. Hence, Wali Khan thinks that this coin may not be an issue of this ruler. The diameter of the coin is 0.8".

obv: Legend in three lines.
Sultanil-Ahd-i-Waz-zaman
Hamiu Millati Rasultir
Rahman.

rev: *Muhammad Hasan*
Bahmani.

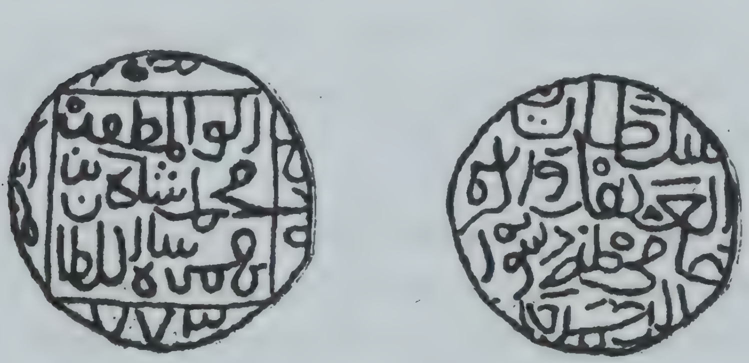
Type B: This coin is 170 grains in weight and has a diameter of 0.81". This contains the word Sultan in the reverse. It does not contain the name of the mint.

obv: *Sultanil-Ahd-i-waz*
Zaman Abul Muzaffar
rev: *Muhammad shah as-*
Sultan-ibnis-Sultan
775.

Silver coins

Four types of silver coins of this ruler are known so far. Most of them contain dates from 761 to 777 A.H. From this it becomes clear that Muhammad Shah I was alive up to A.H. 777 contrary to the general belief that he died in A.H. 776. The weights of the silver coins are 170, 110, 24 and 16 grains.

Type C: This coins weighs 170 grains and measures 1.3" in diameter.



Silver Coin of Muhammad Shah I

obv: As in type A.

rev: Within a square

Abúl Muzaffar
Muhammad Shah bin
Bahman Shah as-Sultan.

In the margin are seen *Zuriba, Hazarat, Ahsanabad* followed by the date which ranges from 761 to 777 A.H.

Type D: This coin weighs 110 grains and measures 0.9" in diameter. Both in the obverse and the reverse it is similar to gold coin type B. In some specimens the name of the mint Fathabad is mentioned in the margin of the reverse.

Two more coin types of this ruler are known. They are similar to type D, but their weight is 24 and 16 grains and their diameter 0.55" and 0.45" respectively.

Copper coins

Four varieties of copper coins of this ruler are known. They follow the usual weight pattern of 52 and 37 grains.

Type E: This copper coin weighs 52 grains and measures 0.52" in diameter.

obv: *Al-Muvayyid*
bi nasrillah.
rev: *Abul Muzaffar*
Muhammad Shah

Type F: This is of similar weight and size but has a different legend.

obv: As in reverse of type E
rev: *Ibne Bahman*
Shah as-Sultan.

Type G:

obv: As in type F.
rev: *Bin al Sultan*
Bahman Shah.

A rare type of copper coin of this Sultan has been published by Dinakar Rao.[10] Its weight is 40 grains and diameter 0.5". Special features of this coins are the stylish way of the legend, the absence of *kunyat* Abul-muzafar which is normally found; the word Shah is placed above Muhammad and the reverse legend *Abde-illillah* (a devotee of God) is completely new not found on any Bahmani coin.

Mujahid Shah

Only one type of gold coins of Mujahid Shah is known. It weighs 192 grains.

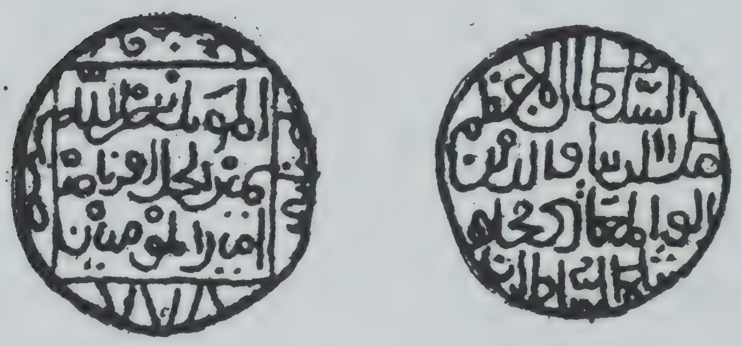
obv: *As-sultanil Azam*
Zillalahe-fil-Alam.

rev: *Allawuddunya Waddin*
Mujahid Shah
As-Sultan

On the margin is seen the name of the mint and the date A.H. 777.

Silver coins

Only one type of silver coins of this Sultan has come to light. It is one of the best coins in the Bahmani coin series from the point of view of the calligraphy of the legend. It was issued from Ahsanabad mint in 779 A.H. Its weight is 170 grains and diameter 1.05".



Silver Coin of Mujahid Shah

obv: Within a square
Al Muwayyid bi
Nasrillah yaminul
Khilafat Nasiru
Amiril-Muminin.

rev: Within a square
As-Sultanul Azam
Alaud-dunya wad-din
Abul Mughazi Mujahid
Shah As-Sultan

In the margin
Zuriba, Fi-Hazarat, Ahsanabad, 779.

Copper coins

Only one type of copper coin is known. Its weight is 52 grains and it measures 0.52" in diameter. This copper coin contains neither the date nor the name of the mint. It does not contain the royal title Sultan.

obv: *Abul Mughazi*
rev: *Majahid Shah.*

Muhammad Shah II

Muhammad Shah II, a peace loving Sultan, devoted himself to the pursuit of literature and science. He evinced great interest in the welfare of his subjects. He minted coins in gold, silver and copper. His gold coin is highly interesting as it throws light on the king's god-fearing nature. This gold coin is of 167.5 grains and measures 0.9".

Type A:

obv: *Al Muqtafi be-Avamir*
ar-Rahman
Al-Mustarshid
billahil Mannan.

rev: *An, Nasir le*
Alwil Yatul Ahsan
Abu-Muzaffar
Muhammad shah As-Sultan
797.

Silver coins

Three types of silver coins of this king are known so far.

Type B: This weighs 169 grains and measures 1.02". It is similar to his gold coin in obverse and reverse.

Type C: This is similar in weight and size as type B but with different legends.

obv: *An-Nasir lidinid*
deyan al-hami
le-ahlil-iman.

rev: *Al-Watiq bataidir*
Rahman Abul Muzaffar
Muhammad Shah as-Sultan
on the margin
zuriba, Fihazarat, Ahsanabad, 781.

Type D: This is a smaller coin with a weight of 55.3 grains and a diameter of 0.62".

obv: *Zul Amani*
Wal Aman
Abul Muzaffar.

rev: *Muhammad shah*
As-Sultan.

Copper coins

Only one type of copper coins is known. The weight of this type ranges from 76 to 86 grains. The diameter is 0.7".

rev: Within a circle
Abd Mabud.

rev: *Muhammad Mahmud*
The legend in the margin is not complete.

Ghiyathuddin

Muhammad Shah II was succeeded by his sons Ghiyathuddin and Shamsuddin. The former was blinded within a period of two months and so spent the rest of his life in Mecca. During this short period of two months in 1397 A.D., he issued coins in silver and copper. On his coins is found his title *Tahmatan Shah.* Tarapore first discovered a coin of this type.[11] As no king bearing the name or the title *Tahmatan Shah* was then known, Tarapore ascribed it to a king of the Sessanian origin. Singhal tried to correct the title as Bahman Shah instead of *Tahmatan Shah.*[12] But this opinion of Singhal was not accepted by other numismatists. Tarapore re-examined the coin and confirmed the reading *Tahmatan Shah.* He argued that it should be taken as a title meaning Persian Hercules.[13] Now many more coins bearing the title *Tahmatan Shah* have come to light.

Type A: Only one silver coin of this king has come to light. It contains the full legend with the title *Tahmatan Shah,* the name of the mint Ahsanabad and the date 799.

Type B: This is a copper coin of 80 grains and 0.65" in diameter.

obv: *Al-muwayyad bi-*
-nasrullah
Abul-Muzaffar.

rev: Within a circle
Tahmatan Shah bin
Muhammad Shah
Legend in the margin is indistinct.

Type C: This coin is similar to type B, but the reading on the obverse is *Abul Muzaffar Sultan Ghiyas-Ud-dunya Wa-ud-din Tahmatan Shah.* But it has no date.

Shamusuddin Daud Shah

Shamsuddin Daud Shah succeeded the ill fated Ghiyathuddin who was blinded. But Firoz Khan, a son of Daud Shah deposed

Shamsuddin just after five months and blinded him. In this short period, Shamsuddin Daud Shah issued silver and copper coins. His copper coins are known in a weight of 80 grains. Their size is 0.68".

obv: *Al-muwayyad-bi-nasrullah*
Abul-Muzaffar.
rev: Within a circle
Daud Shah.

Firoz Shah

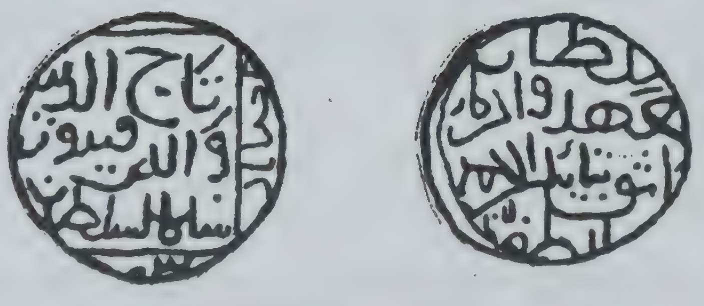
Firoz Shah ruled for a long period and issued coins in gold, silver and copper.

Type A: His gold coin weighs 195 grains. It contains the legend *Al Wathiq be-Taider-Rahman Abul Muzaffar Firoz Shah As-Sultan.* The margin contains *Zuriba Hazad-dinar Darul Mulk Ahsanabad* and the date 800.

Type B: This silver coin weighs 168.2 grains and measures 1.02".

Silver coin

obv: *Sultanl-Ahdi Waz-Zaman*
al-wathiq bitaidir-Rahman
Abul-Muzaffar.



Silver Coin of Firoz Shah

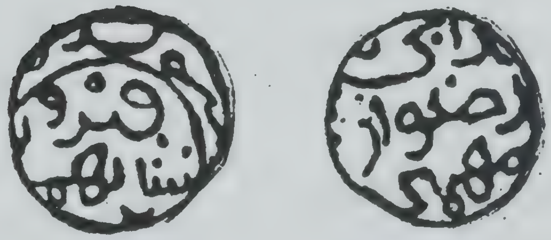
rev: Within a square
Tajud-dunya Wad-din
Firoz Shah as-Sultan
Margin as in Type A.

The date on similar coins rage from 800 to 824 A.H. The mint in all these cases is Ahsanabad.

Type C: Three types of copper coins of Firoz Shah have been noticed so far. His copper coins are in two shapes, round and rectangular. This type weighs 58 grains and has a diameter of 0.51".

obv: *Al-Hakim be-amrillah.*
rev: *Firoz Shah.*

Type D: This is bigger than type C. Its weight is 80 grains.



Copper Coin of Firoz Shah

obv: *Rāji Ridwān*
Muheyamani.
rev: *Firoz Shah*
Bahmani

In the margin *Zuriba behazrat Ahsanabad.*

Type E: Siddiqui brought to light another type recently.[14] This type is both round and rectangular. Round coins measure 0.45" in diameter. The rectangular coins measure 0.45" x 0.35". Their weight ranges from 23 to 25 grains.

obv: *Barguzida i-ilah.*
rev: *Firoz Shah.*

A.H. Siddiqui has published a new variety of the copper coin of this king.[15] It is similar to the above, but the title found on this coin is *Burguzid Sultan* meaning elect king or pious king. Other noteworthy features of this coin are the *Tughra* style of writing the name Firoz Shah on the reverse and the obverse legend is known for the first time for this king.

Ahmad Shah I

Silver and copper coins of Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Shah I are known so far.

Type A: Silver coin measures 1.12" and weighs 170 grains. This type was minted at both Ahsanabad and Muhammadabad.

obv: As *Sultanil-adil*
Al bazil-An-nasir Lidinid
-deyan Abul Mughazi.

rev: *Shihab-ud-dunya*
wad-din-Ahmad Shah
As-Sultan.

In the margin *Zuriba behazrat Ahsanabad.* In some coins the name of the mint is Muhammadabad.

His copper coins are found in five types. They were also issued at both the mints, Ahsanabad and Muhammadabad.

Type B: This copper coin weighs 250 grains and measures 0.9". The date on the coin varies from 833 to 838 A.H.

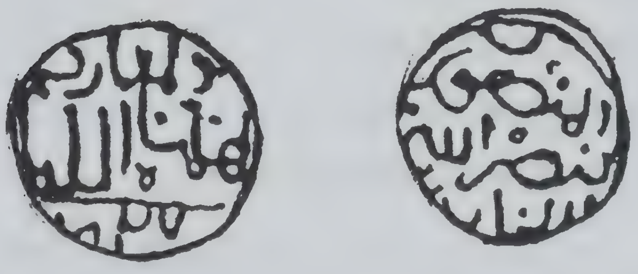
obv: *Al Mustauthiq*
billahil Hannanil
Mannanil Ghani.

rev: *Sultan Ahmad Shah*
bin Amad-Hasan
Al Bahmani 833.

Type C: The weight of this type is 120 to 128 grains and diameter 0.72". The coin contains the date which varies from 826 to 838 A.H. This type was minted at Muhammadabad.

obv: *Al-Muwayyid-bi-*
-Nasrillahil
Malikil-Hannan.
rev: *Abul Mughazi*
Ahmad Shah
as-Sultan 826
In the margin *Zuriba behazrat Muhammadabad* 826.

Type D: This coin weighs 85 grains and measures 0.62". It contains the date which ranges from 826 to 829. The name of the mint is not found on the coin.



Copper Coin of Ahmad Shah I

obv: *Al Mansur bi-*
Nasrillahil Mannan.
rev: As in type C without any legend in the margin.

Type E: Recently, Amjad Ali brought to light another type of Ahmad Shah's coin.[16] It is a circular copper coin with a diameter of 0.6" and weight of 60 grains. It has the date 827.

obv: *Al Mansur*
bi-Nasarillahe
nalanna lana Zillahu
vali-un-nas.
rev: As in type B. But the date is 827.

Type F: Recently another type of his coin has come to light.[17]
obv: *Ahmad Shah Dindar.*
rev: *Qule-o-Bazarin-Kuffara.*

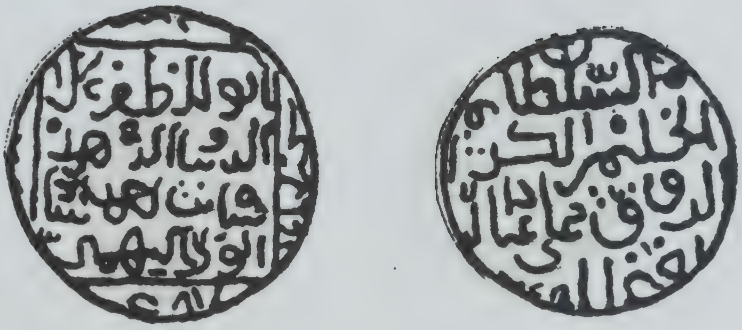
Another new type of coin of this king shows some writing peculiarities.[18] The reverse legend would read *Khalad al-fath illahu* which is a prayer formula meaning *'let Allah perpetuate his victories.'*

Alauddin Ahmad Shah II

Type A: Two types of gold, one type of silver and seven types of copper coins of this ruler are known.
obv: *Sultanul a Wiyil-*
Islam Ma-al fazle wal
Adle-Wal-Ahisan.
rev: *Abul-Muzaffar Alaud-*
dunya Wa-din-Ahmad
Shah bin Ahmad Shah Sultan.

Type B: This is similar in weight and size as type A.

obv: *As-Sultanul-Halimul*
karimur-Rauf-Ala
Ibadi Uahil-Ghaniyil
Muleyamani.
rev: *Abul-Muzaffar Alaud*
dunya-Wa-din Ahmad
Shah bin Ahmad Shah
al-Waliyil-Bahmani.



Silver Coin of Ahmad Shah II

Silver coin

Only one type of silver coin is known. It weighs 170 grains and measures 1.02" in diameter. It is minted at Muhammadabad and contains the date 838 A.H.

Type C:

obv: As in type B.
rev: As in type B.

In the margin *Zurab Behazrat Muhammadabad* 838.

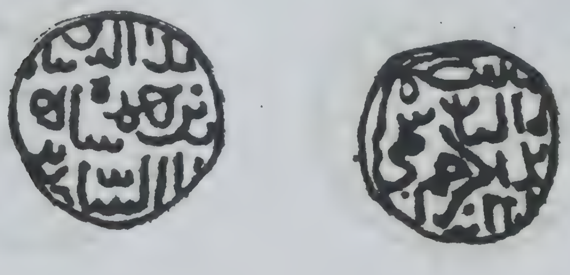
Copper coins

Seven types of copper coins of this ruler have come to light.

Type D: The weight of this type ranges from 250 to 225 grains. It measures 0.9". The name of the mint is not inscribed but it contains the date which varies from 839 to 857 A.H.

obv: *Al-Mutasim bullahil-Mannan*
Summiya Khalilur-Rahman
Abul Muzaffar.

rev: *Alaud-dunya Wad-din*
Ahmad Shah bin Ahmad
Shah as-Sultan 839.



Copper Coin of Ahmad Shah II

Type E: This coin weighs about 170 grains and measures 0.8". It was minted in Mahammadabad and contains the date which varies from 840 to 858 A.H.

obv: Within a circle
Al Mutawakkil alailahil Ghani
rev: *Ahmad shah bin*
Ahmad Shah al Wali
al Bahmani 840.

Type F: This type weighs about 124 grains and measures 0.75". The name of the mint is not written but contains the date which varies from 838 to 851 A.H.

obv: *Al-Wathiq bi-taidil*
malikil-ilah Abud Mazaffar.
rev: *Ahmad shah bin Ahmad Shah*
Bahman shah 838.

Type G: The weight of this coin is 80 grains and its diameter 0.62". This coin also does not contain the name of the mint but it has dates ranging from 838 to 854 A.H.

obv: *Al-Mustansir bilahil*
Ghani Abul Mazaffar.

rev: *Ahmad Shah bin*
Ahmad Shah Al-Bahmani 839.

Three more types of his copper coins have come to light.[19]

Type H:

obv: *Ahmed Shah.*
rev: *Zilli ilah.*

Type I:

obv: *Ahmed Shah.*
rev: *Jahan Paṇah*

Type J:

obv: *Barguzida*
Ahmed Shah.
rev: *bin Ahmed Shah*
al Sultan.

Humayun Shah

Humayun Shah issued two types of gold *ṭankas,* one type of silver and three types of copper coins. His last known date from coins is 866 A.H. while Ferishtah records his coins of 860 A.H. On the evidence of this coin it can be concluded that he ruled upto that date.

Type A: This is a gold coin of 170 grains and 0.82". It contains neither the date nor the name of the mint.

obv: *Al-Mutawakkil Alaillahil*
Qawi yil-Ghani Abdul Mughazi.
rev: *Alaud-dunya Wad-din*
Humayun Shah bin Ahmad
Shah bin Ahmad Shah
al-waliyil Bahmani.

Type B: This is a gold coin of 160.8 grains. It measures 1.05" in diameter. It contains a date of which the last digit is not clear (86). The legend is indistinct, but a part of the quotation from Koran can be seen.

Type C: Only one type of his silver coin is known. This is similar to gold coin type A in both obverse and reverse. But it contains the name of the mint Muhammadabad and date 862.

obv: As in type A.
rev: As in type A.
In the margin *Zuriba Behazrat Muhammadabad* 862.

Copper coins

Three types of his copper coins of different denominations are known. They weigh 255, 120 and 80 grains.

Type D: This weighs 255 grains and measures 0.9" in diameter. This is similar to type c in obverse and reverse but does not contain the name of the mint. It has a date ranging from 862 to 866 A.H.

obv: Similar to type C.
rev: Similar to type C.

Type E: This coin weighs 120 grains and measures 0.7" in diameter. Some coins of this type contain date while others do not.

obv: *Al-Mutawakkil-ala-karamil*
iahil-Hannan al-Ghani.

rev: *Humayun Shah Bin*
Ahmad Shah al Walliyil Bahmani.

Type F: The weight of this coin is 80 grains. Its diameter is 0.6". The reverse contains dates 865 and 866.

obv: *Darai Zaka Human.*

rev: *Humayun Shah bin*
Ahmad Shah as-Sultan 865.

Nizamuddin Ahmad Shah III

Gold, silver and copper coins of this ruler have come to light so far.

Type A: This gold coin which is rare weighs 170 grains.[20]

obv: *al wathiq billahi al ghazi*
Abul Muzaffar Nizam al Dunya
wa-al din.

rev: within a square
Ahmad shah bin Humayun Shah
al sultan al Bahmani
Khalladallahu mulkuhu

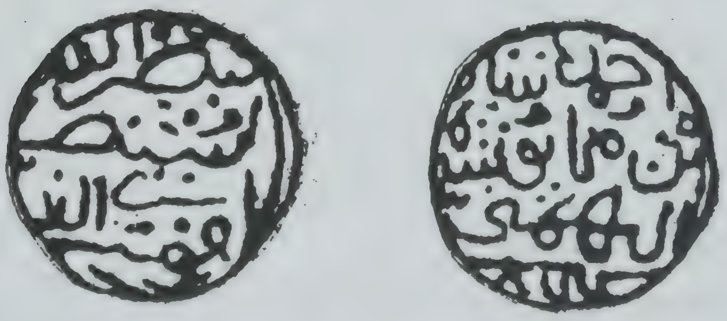
In the margin *Zarb ihadrat Muhammadabad* 867.

From this coin it becomes clear that he had the title Ahmad III. Some scholars have referred to him as Nizam Shah.

Copper coins

A large number of copper coins of this ruler have been discovered. They may be classified into four types. They are in three different weights of 250, 170 and 80 grains.

Type B: These coins weigh 256 grains and measure 0.86". Dates 866 and 867 are found on them.



Copper coin of Nizamuddin

obv: *Al-Mustansir bi-nasri*
llahil qawiyil Ghani.
rev: *Ahmad shah bin*
Humayun shah
at Bahmani 866.

Type C: This coin weighs 170 grains and measures 0.75" in diameter. The date is seen on the obverse and not in the reverse.

obv: *Ar-raji be taidir*
Rahman 866.
rev: *Adbul Muzaffar*
Ahmad shah as sultan.

Type D: This copper coin of 80 grains measures 0.62" in diameter. This also contains the date on the obverse.

obv: *Al wathiq billahir*
Rahman 866.
rev: as in type C.

Type E:

obv: *Al Muti bi-amrillahil*
Mannan.
rev: As in type C.

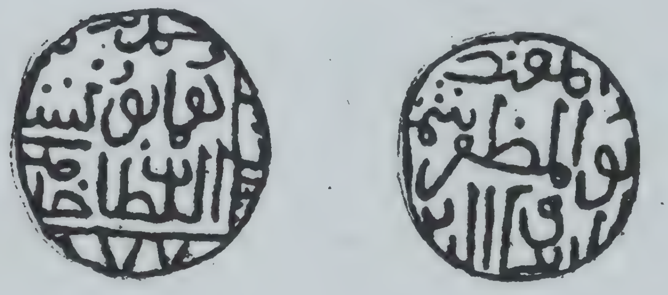
Type F: Recently Amjad Ali brought to light another type of copper coin.[21] Its diameter is 0.7". This coin weighs 4 grams.

obv: *Ahmad shah bin*
Humayun shah
as sultan.
rev: *Abul Muzaffar*
Ahmad shah
as sultan.

Muhammad Shah III

After the death of Ahmad Shah III, his younger brother Muhammad Shah III became the sultan. It was during his period, the famous Muhmud Gawan lived. Gold, silver and copper coins of this ruler have come to light so far.

Type A: This gold coin weighing 170 grains and measuring 0.75" in diameter was minted in Muhammadabad in 868 A.H.



Silver coin of Muhammad Shah

obv: *Al Mutasim-billah*
Abul Muzaffar
Shamsud-dunya-wad-din.

rev: In a square
Muhammad shah bin
Humayun shah as-sultan
khallada Mulkuhu 868
In the margin *Zarab Hazrat Muhammadabad* 868.

Type B: Another type of gold coin has been published by P.L. Gupta.[22]

obv: *Bi-allah*
Almutesim shams ud
duniya wa alc-din

rev: *Mahammad Shah*
bin Humayun Shah
al-sultan.

Thus on the obverse the epithet *Abul-mauzaffar* is absent. The legend on the reverse seems to be angular and the legend is very crude not found on any known gold coin of the Bahmani rulers.

Type C: This is a silver coin of 170 grains. Its diameter is 0.85". This type also contains the name of the mint and date which ranges from 871 to 886. It is similar to type A in both obverse and reverse.

Five types of copper coins of this ruler are known. They are in the weights of 250, 170, 125, 80 and 40 grains.

Type D: This copper coin weighs 256 grains and measures 0.85".

obv: *Al-Mutasim billah*
Shamsud-dunya-waddin.
rev: As in type A.

Type E: This is similar to type C in weight and size.

obv: As in type C.
rev: *Muhammad shah bin*
Humayun shah as-sultan.

Type F: This coin weighs 84.5 grains and measures 0.62". It has a date 867 A.H.

obv: *Al Mutasim billah*
Abul Muzaffar.
rev: As in type D.

Type G: This coin weighs 44 grains and measures 0.53".

obv: *Muhammad shah.*
rev: *Bin Humayun shah.*

Type H: This is of 53 grains. It's measurement is 0.53".

obv: *Zillullah.*
rev: *Muhammad shah.*

Type I: Amjad Ali has brought to light another type.[23] It measures 0.6." in diameter and weighs 5 grams.

obv: *Shamsud-dunya*
wad-din.

rev: As in type D.

Mahmud Shah

Though Mahmud Shah was a weak king and real power was in the hands of Quasim Barid, a large number of coins in gold, silver and copper of this ruler have come to light.

Type A: This is a gold coin of 170 grains. It measures 1" in diameter. Though it has a date in the margin, it is not clearly visible.

obv: *Al Mutawakkil Alallahil*
qawiyil-Ghani as
sultanil-Azam.

rev: *Abul-Mughazi Mahmud*
shah bin Muhmmad shah
al-waliyil-bahmani

In the margin *Zuriba Hazrat Muhammadabad.*

Type B: This silver coin of 170 grains and 0.92" was minted at Muhammadabad. It has dates ranging from 887 to 897. This is similar to gold coin of type A in both reverse and obverse.

His copper coins are found in five types. Their weights are 250, 170, 150, 80 and 40 grains.

Type C: Weight 256 grains. Size 0.85".

rev: *Al Mutawakkil alaillahil*
Hannanil-Mannan
Abul Mughazi.

rev: *Mahmud shah bin*
Muhammad shah as
sultan 888.

Type D: This is similar to type C in weight and size.

obv: *Al Mutawakkil al allahil*
qawiyil-Ghani.
rev: *Mahmud shah bin*
Muhammad shah
al-Bahmani.

Type E: This coin weighs 87 grains and measures 0.62".
obv: *Al Mutawakkil al allahil.*
rev: *Mahmud shah bin Muhammad shah.*

Type F: This coin weighs 156 grains and measures 0.72". It was discovered in the excavations at Bidar.

obv: *Al Muvayyid bi*
nasrillahil-Ghani.
rev: *As-sultan Mahmud*
al bahmani.

Type G: Weight 74.5 grains. Diameter 0.65".

obv: *Al-Muvayyid*
bi-nasrillah.
rev: As in type E.

Type H: Weight 43 grains. Size 0.5". in diameter.

obv: *Mahmud shah bin*
rev: *Muhammad shah.*

Type J: Siddiqui brought to light another copper coin of this ruler. It weighs 136 grains and measures 0.7" in diameter.

obv: *Al-Mutawakkil*
al allah al.Hannan
al mannan.

rev: *Mahmud shah*
bin Muhammad shah
al Bahmani.

Waliullah Shah

Gold and silver coins of this ruler have not yet come to light. However, three types of copper coins are known. Legends become more varied and are written in thick and bold types.

Type A: Weight 261 grains. Diameter 0.85".

obv: *Al-Muvayyid binnasri'*
llahil-Malikil
qawiyil Ghani.
rev: *As sultan Waliullah*
shah bin Mahmud
al-Bahmani.

Type B: Weight 170 grains. Diameter 0.78".

obv: *Al-Muwayyid bi*
nasrillahil Ghani.
rev: *As-sultan Waliullah*
al-bahmani.

Type C: This coin weighs 80 grains and measures 0.65". It has the date 930 A.H.

obv: *Al-Muwayyid bi*
nasrillah.
rev: *As sultan Waliullah*
930.

Kalimullah Shah

Kalimullah, the last sultan of the Bahmanis was a king in name and the real power was in the hands of the provincial governors who were virtually independent of the sultan. But they took care not to issue coins in their own name and continued the coins of Kalimullah even after his flight from the capital. His copper coins may be divided into six types.

Type A: This coin weighs 92 grains and measures 0.62". It has the date 930 A.D.

obv: *al-Muwayyid*
bi-nasrillah.
rev: *As-sultan*
Kalimullah 930.

Type B: The weight of this coin is 46 grains and diameter 0.5". It is also dated 930 A.H.

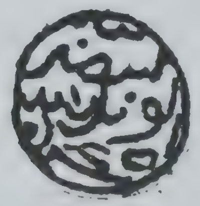
obv: *As-sultan.*
rev: *Kalimullah.*

Type C: Weight 269 grains. Diameter 0.85". Date 950 A.H.

obv: *Al-Muvayyid bi*
nasrillahil Malikil
Quwiyil Ghani.
rev: *As-Sultan Kalimullah*
bin-Mahmud shah
al bahmani 950.

Type D: Weight 180 grains. Size 0.78". Date 952 A.H.

obv: *Al-Muwayyid bi*
nasrillahil Ghani.



Copper coin of Kalimullah

rev: *As-sultan Kalimullah*
al-bahmani 952.

Type E: This coin weighs 86 grains and measures 0.65". It has no date.

obv: *Al-Mutawakkil*
al allahil Adilil Ghani.
rev: *As sultan Kalimullah*
al bahmani.

Type F: This coin brought to light by Dinakara Rao weighs 81 grains and measures 0.6".[24]

obv: *Al-Mutawakkil*
al allah.
rev: *As-sultan*
Kalimullah.

REFERENCES

1. *Numismatic Supplement,* vii, p. 53.
2. *Ibid.,* xi p. 309.
3. *Ibid.,* xxii, p. 196.
4. *Ibid.,* xxxvii, p. 22.
5. *Islamic Culture,* ix, 1935, pp. 268-308.
6. *The Bahmani Kingdom* and *D.V. Potadar Commemoration Volume,* p. 204.
7. *A Catalogue of Bahmani coins in the Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Museum,* 1963.
8. Copper coins of Firoz Shah and Mubarak Shah are both rectangular and circular.
9. There was some controversy regarding the identification of Fathabad. Tarapore first identified it as Dharur in Bir district. But he subsequently identified it as Daulatabad because Dharur was a Mughal mint and it was named Fathabad only after the fall of the Bahmani Kingdom. As no coin of Fathabad mint later than 766 A.H. is known, it is presumed that this mint ceased to function after the date *(JNSI.,* Vol. 7, p. 46 and Vol. 2, p. 127).

10. *ND,* I, ii, p. 32.
11. *JNSI.,* Vol. 1, Pt. ii, p. 131.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.,* 4, p. 67.
14. *Ibid.,* Vol. 28 p. 79. This coin was originally attributed to Qutbuddin Firoz Shah of Madura. But the type and calligraphy are sufficient to attribute this to Bahmanis.
15. *ND,* VI, p. 71.
16. *JNSI,* Vol. 30, p. 225.
17. *Ibid.,* Vol. 26, p. 273.
18. *ND,* VI, p. 73.
19. *JNSI,* 26, p. 271.
20. *Ibid.,* 1, p. 39.
21. *Ibid.,* Vol. 29, p. 62.
22. *ND,* I, i, p. 71.
23. *JNSI,* Vol. 29, p. 62.
24. *Ibid.,* Vol. 21, p. 78.

CHAPTER XIX

ADIL SHAHI COINS

The Adil Shahi Kingdom was founded by Yusuf Adil Khan in 1489 A.D. Actually he was a governor under the Bahmanis. When the Bahmanis became weak, the governor Yusuf Adil Khan declared independence and founded a new dynasty under his own name. This dynasty ruled till 1686 A.D. and made Bijapur as their capital. The Adil Shahi rulers are famous in the history of the Deccan as great patrons of architecture and fine arts. The famous Golgumbaz, Ibrahim Roza, and other buildings of the period are well known. Ibrahim Adil Shah was not only a great patron of music but himself was an accomplished musician. His book *Kitab-i-Navaras* in Urdu deals with Hindu music and it opens with an invocation to goddess Sarasvati. Thus there was an all round cultural development during the Adil Shahi period. Compared to their cultural achievements, their coins that have been found are scanty.

Till 1910 not a single coin of this dynasty was known. In that year, G.P. Taylor obtained some copper coins from Bijapur and wrote an article on them.[1] On the basis of the personal names found on the coins, he assigned them to the Adil Shahis with hesitation. He found some silver *larins* of the same dynasty and brought them to the notice of the numismatists.[2] In 1912, he was fortunate enough to get three gold coins of Muhammad Adil Shah.[3] Henry Cousens wrote a note on the coinage of this dynasty in his monumental work on Bijapur architecture.[4] In 1921, some coins of the Adil Shahis were noticed by the Hyderabad Archaeological Department.[5] Four gold coins found in Bijapur were published by Ismail in 1922.[6] G.H. Khare added some interesting notes on the gold coins of Muhammad Shah on the basis of a *firman* issued by the ruler.[7]

The Adil Shahis continued the Bahmani coinage for some time before introducing their independent currency. The coins of the first four sultans, namely Yusuf Adil Shah, Ismail Adil Shah, Mallu Adil and Ibrahim Adil I have not yet come to light. Hence some scholars believe that Ali Adil I, the fifth ruler, was the first to mint Adil Shahi coins. According to Ferishtah, no gold coins were struck by the successors of the Bahmanis, except the Qutb Shahis. Obviously this is wrong. We have the gold coins of Muhammad Adil Shah of the dynasty. It should also be remembered that Ferishtah closed his account of the Adil Shahis before Muhammad came to throne. Hence it is quite likely that no gold coins were struck before him.

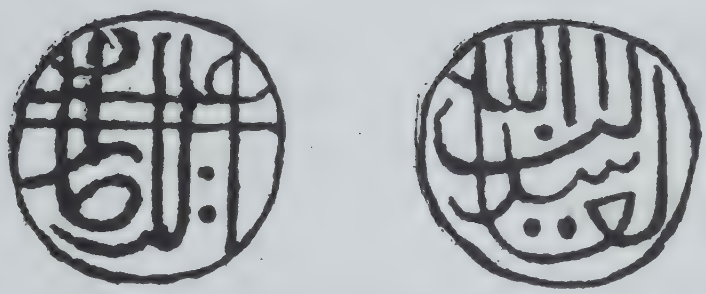
There are some useful literary references to the coinage of the Adil Shahis. *Basātin-Salātin* states that Ibrahim struck copper coins stamped with the name of *nauras* in honour of the foundation of the new city of Nauraspur. These coins were designated *Ibrahim Nauras.* The same work also mentions the names of the coins such as *muhar, hon, dharan* and *partab.* Obviously they must have been gold coins. It also mentions their relative values as follows:

1 *Hon* = 2 *Dharan*
1 *Dharan* = 2 *Partabs*
1 *Hon* = 4 *Partabs*

The Adil Shahi coins are circular and square in shape, except the silver *Lārins.* Their gold coins weigh 52 grains and copper coins are seen in four weights, 267, 180, 120 and 60 grains. The silver *Lārins* weigh about 70 grains. Like other Sultanate coins, they also contain titles, name and Persian couplets. But some of them have the date. They give the names of the ruling kings but not the name of the father as many Bahmani coins do. As we have already remarked, the coins of the first four Sultans of the dynasty have not been found.

Ali Adil I

Two types of copper coins of this ruler have come to light. They are seen in three different weights and their size also varies from 0.65" to 0.8" in diameter. His square coins measure 0.5".



Coin of Ali Adil Shah I

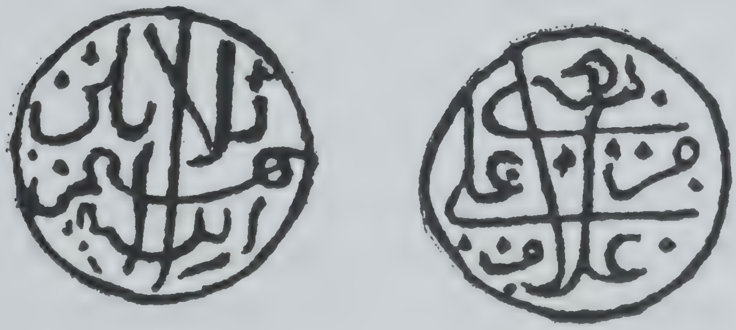
Type A: Coins of this type are found in weights of 186, 174, 157 and 117 grains. They are circular in shape with diameter varying from 0.65" to 0.8".

obv: *Ali ibn Abi Talib.*
rev: *Asadullahil Ghalib.*

Type B: These are square coins with each side measuring 0.5". They are found in weights of 180, 120 and 60 grains. They are similar to type A in both obverse and reverse.

Ibrahim Adil Shah II

The copper coins of Ibrahim Adil Shah can also be divided into two types. Type A is circular. Its diameter varies from 0.55" to 0.75". It is found in the weights of 180, 120 and 60 grains.

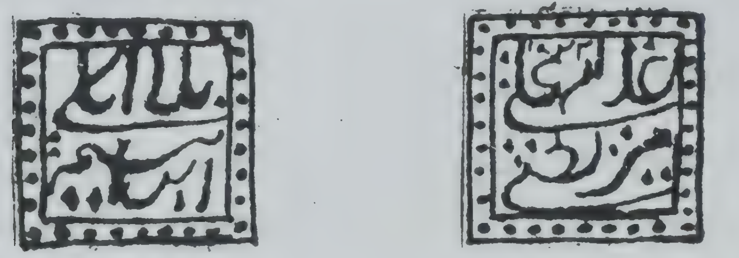


Coin of Ibrahim Adil Shah

obv: *Ibrahim Abla bali.*
rev: *Ghulshan Ali Murtaza.*

The phrase *Abla bali* found on this coin has been a subject of controversy. Some numismatists feel that this phrase has no meaning. But Ismail has suggested that it means *'supporter of the weak'* and refers to the king Ibrahim.[8]

Type B is square with sides measuring 0.65". This type is found in two weights of 180 and 120 grains. It is similar to type A in both obverse and reverse. This is a very elegant and beautiful coin in the entire sultanate series.



Square coin of Ibrahim Adil Shah II

The square coins of Ibrahim Adil Shah II attract our attention from the point of view of calligraphy.[9] It is quite similar to *Nastaliq* style the best examples of which are gold and silver coins of Akbar and Jahangir. As different from this, his round coins follow *Tughra* style which is decorative type of writing and letters are accommodated with minimum use of space. As there is close resemblance between the calligraphy of the coins of Adil Shah II and Akbar, Danish Moin has suggested that the Adil Shahi ruler must have used this type to please Akbar. Thus there is the influence of Akbar's *Ilahi* type of coinage.

Danish Moin has discovered a tiny copper coin of this sultan.[10] This is particularly noteworthy from the points of view of weight and diameter. Its weight is 0.98 gm and it measures 0.9 cm in diameter. Though the legend is partially seen on this coin, it conforms to the legend on his copper coin described above.

Muhammad Adil Shah

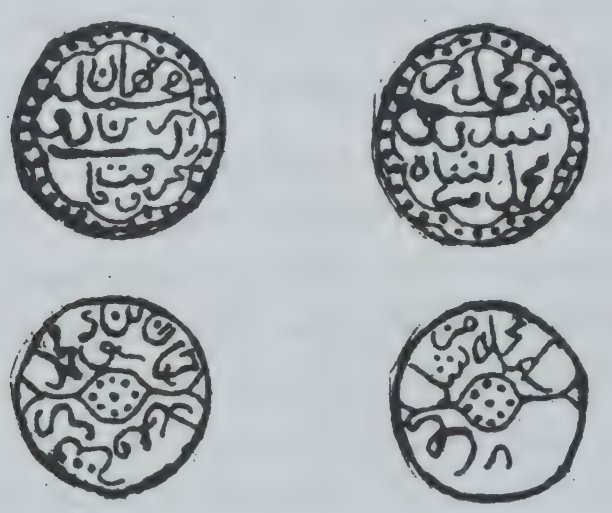
Gold and copper coins of this ruler have come to light so far. Three gold coins of this ruler were first discovered in Bijapur[11] followed by the discovery of another four from the same district.[12] These gold coins are circular and their diameter varies from 0.35". to 0.4". They weigh 51.8 grains.

obv: - *Jahan zi in do Muhammad girift zinat ojah.*
rev: *Yaki Muhammadi i mursal duwam Muhammad Shah.*

Obverse and reverse taken together give a Persian couplet. This couplet is taken to give two different meanings. The first one refers to Prophet Muhammad. "The world received beauty and dignity from two Muhammads-one is the Prophet Muhammad and the other is king Muhammad." In the second meaning it refers to his queen, Taj Jahan. "The world *(jahan)* received beauty and dignity from Muhammad the Prophet and Jahan, the queen from Muhammad, the king."

It is very interesting to note some information regarding the gold coins of this king as gleaned from a *firman* of this ruler.[13] This *firman* was issued by the king on 22 Rajab 1064 A.H. corresponding to 29-5-1654 A.D. It was issued to Hasan Rumikhan, the administrator of Sholapur. It mentions the following " At present it has come to our notice that the bankers, merchants, subjects and others residing in villages and towns and market places included in the Sandalapur division refuse to accept *Hons* bearing our name stamp *(Muhammad Shah);* do not exchange it for the coins of smaller denominations and do not use it in sale and purchase. What a boldness it is since it bears our name stamp? Now we order that as the *Hons* consist of gold of 43.1 *ayars* or *kas,* as it is called in the language of the Deccan (82.69% fineness), whosoever terms it as counterfeit, refuses to accept it after deforming the same and postpones to exchange it for coins of smaller denominations, should be chastised in an exemplary manner and his movable and immovable property should be confiscated. *Hons* of gold of a lesser touch should be sent to the royal mint, where the same will be melted and transformed into standard ones."

In addition to the gold coin mentioned above, copper coins of this king are known. They can be divided into three types on the basis of the arrangement of the legend. The legend is the same as the couplet found on his gold coins but there is difference in writing the same. The copper coins weigh, 267, 179, 117, 66 and 56 grains. They are circular with a diameter ranging from 0.5" to 0.85".



Copper coins of Muhammad Adil Shah

A.H. Siddiqui has found some copper coins which show a different couplet on them.[14] The original couplet as found on the gold and copper coins made a parity between the king and the Prophet Muhammad. Perhaps this was resented by the orthodox religious leaders and this must have compelled the sultan to change the wording of the couplet to avoid parity with the Prophet. The revised couplet gave the meaning that the world received beauty and dignity from Muhammad Adil Shah, the refuge of justice and the champion king Muhammad Shah. These coins were issued in later years of his reign because only a few coins of this type are available. Thus this coin forms a new type of copper coin of this king.

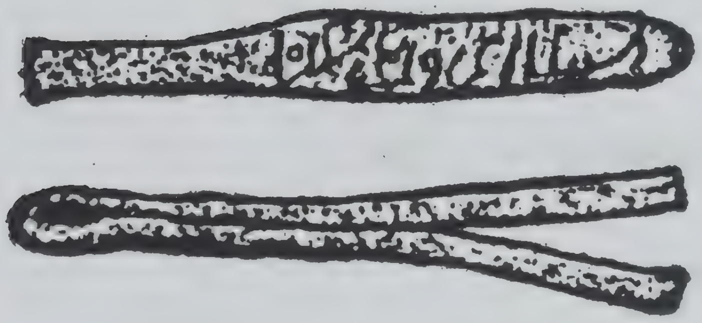
Ali Adil Shah II

Silver *Larins* and copper coins of this king are known so far. It is very curious that Ali Adil Shah II issued silver coins, quite different in nature belonging to foreign pattern, i.e., *Larins.* According to

Pietro della Velle[15] "The *lari* is a piece of money, most eccentric in form for it is nothing but a little rod of silver of a fixed weight and bent double unequally. On the bend it is marked with small stamp, It is called *Lari* because it was the peculiar money of the princes of Lar invented by them when they were separated from the Kingdom of Persia." As the territory of the Adil Shahis included parts of sea coast, the silver *Larins* were minted with a view to meet the demands of the sea traders. So it is highly doubtful whether these *Larins* were current throughout the Adil Shahi Kingdom. Probably it was restricted to the narrow tract of the land bordering the sea.

Larin being a tiny piece of silver, it affords less space for inscription. Hence many of the legends on these *Larins* are incomplete. By piecing together all these letters it has been possible to reconstruct the legend in full. The legend reads as follows:

Sultan Ali Adil Shah
Darb i Lari Dange 1077.



Silver Larin of Ali Adil Shah II

Two types of these *Lārins* can be distinguished on the basis of their length. One measures 3.75" in length whereas the other is only 1.75" long. The weight of the former is 74 grains and the latter weighs 70 grains. From the legend found it would have become difficult to assign this to any particular king. Fortunately they have dates ranging from 1071 to 1077 A.H. These dates correspond to the regnal period of Ali Adil Shah II. Hence these *Larins* may be ascribed to him.

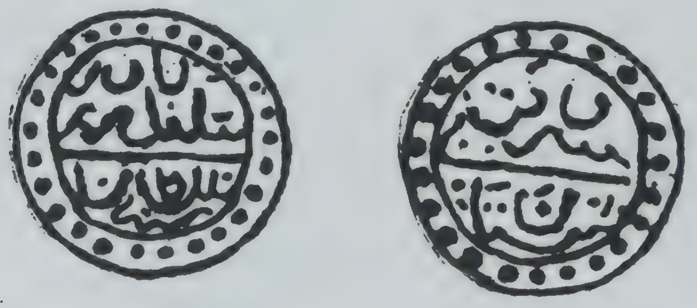
His copper coins are found in three weights 180, 120 and 60 grains. Their diameter varies from 0.55" to 0.75".

obv: *Ali Adil Shah* 1067.

rev: *Ghulam i Hyder i Safdar.*

Sikandar Adil Shah

Copper coins of this last ruler are also found in three weights 180, 120 and 60 grains.



Coin of Sikandar Adil Shah

obv: *Sultan Sikandar Qadiri* 1086.

rev: *Khusrau i Giti Sitan.*

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2. *Ibid.,* 687.
3. *Ibid.,* xviii, p. 227.
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5. *Annual Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department for the years,* 1921-24, p. 28.
6. *Numismatic Supplement,* No. 39, p. 43.
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8. *Numismatic Supplement,* No. 36, p. 36.
9. *SSIC,* VII, p. 109.
10. Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic studies, (IIRNS) Newsline, July 1995, Issue, 7, p. 7.

11. *Ibid.,* No. 18, p. 227.

12. *Ibid.,* No. 39, p. 43.

13. *JNSI,* Vol. 16, p. 130.

14. *ND,* I, ii, p. 33.

15. Pietro della Velle was an Italian traveller who undertook a voyage from Goa to Ikkeri. He spent most of his time in Karnataka visiting the various Deccan kingdoms. He has recorded his impressions of these kingdoms with particular reference to political and cultural events including the currency system. For details see; Pietro della Velle; *The Travels in India.* (Ed.) Edward Grey, London, 1892.

CHAPTER XX

BARID SHAHI COINS

Quasim Barid, the *defacto* ruler under the Bahmani King Mahmud Shah is considered as the originator of this family. As and when the Bahmanis became weak, the Barid Shahis wielded greater influence. Quasim's son Amir Barid tightened his hold on the Bahmani Sultans further. When in 1427 A.D., Bahmani Sultan Waliullah fled from the capital, Amir Barid became independent. In 1542 A.D. Ali Barid assumed the title Shah. He was succeeded by Ibrahim Barid in 1580 A.D. Then came Quasim Barid II in 1587 A.D. After this date the Barid Shahi Sultans lost their power. In 1619 A.D., Ibrahim Adil Shah invaded Bidar and the ruling Sultan Amir Barid was taken prisoner. Thereby the Barid Shahi Kingdom came to an end.

The history and culture of the Barid Shahis has been ably treated by G. Yazdani.[1] But the history of the coins of the Barid Shahis has not been treated exhaustively by any writer. Their coins were first noticed by Hurmuz Kaus in 1947.[2] Then Dinakara Rao described some coins of this dynasty.[3] Siddiqui published some coins of this dynasty and discussed some problems in an exhaustive article.[4]

The coins of the Barid Shahis are not as prolific as those of the Bahmanis or the Adil Shahis. The early Barid Shahi rulers did not assume royalty because they were afraid of their more powerful neighbours namely Adil Shahis and Nizam Shahis. They carried on the administration, probably, as *Wazirs.* This could be the reason why the early rulers did not strike coins in their own name but continued the use of the Bahmani coins. That is the reason for finding the name of Sultan Kalimullah on these coins for a long time.

Barid Shahi coins are found from the reign of Ibrahim Barid, the fourth ruler of the dynasty. No gold and silver coins of the dynasty has come to light so far. All their coins so far found are in copper.

The coins of the Barid Shahis contain their regal title *As-Sultan Amir Barid Shah.* But their personal names do not appear on the coins. Hence, only on the basis of their date they have to be attributed to the kings of the dynasty. Words like *Bārak* and *Bāni* are also found as part of their regal titles. Siddiqui has suggested that the dynastic name Barid should be taken with the word *Bārak,* found on their coins.[5] So *Barid Bārak* means, Royal Courier. This is corroborated by the fact that Quasim Barid I and Amir Barid I were conferred the title *Barid-Ul-mamālik* i.e., *'Messenger of the empires'.* So the dynastic name should have represented their position as Royal couriers held by early members of this family.

It is generally believed that Ibrahim Barid, the fourth ruler of the dynasty, was the first to mint coins. However, Ferishtah, refers to Amir Barid II, the second ruler, as one who struck coins. So it is likely that the early Barid Shahi rulers minted coins which have not yet come to light. They minted coins in the name of Kalimullah. When it became known that no Bahmani scion would contest, they stopped minting coins in the name of Kalimullah and minted independent coinage.

In fabric and size the Barid Shahi copper coins are similar to the Bahmani coins. Their diameter ranges from 0.55" to 0.88". These coins are found in the weights of 290, 260, 180, 160, 125, 90 and 65 grains.

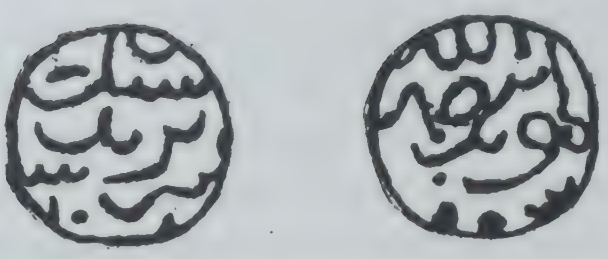
Ibrahim Barid

Ibrahim Barid, the fourth king of the dynasty is the first known king whose coins have been found in copper.

Type A: This is a copper coin of 125 grains in weight and 0.65" in diameter.

obv: *Al Muwayyad bi Narsrillah* 993.

rev: *Alsultan Amir Barid Shah.*

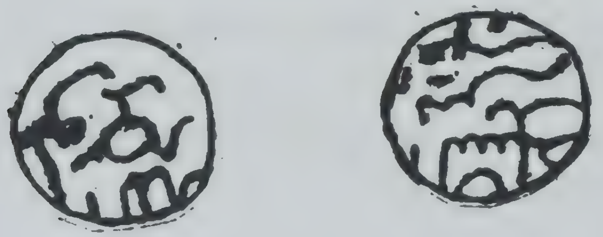


Copper coin of Ibrahim

As this coin contains the date 993 A.H., it becomes evident that it was issued by Ibrhaim Barid Shah.

Type B: P This is a copper coin of 90 grains.

obv: As in type A.
rev: As in type A.



Copper coin of Ibrahim

As this coin also contains the date 993 A.H. it can be ascribed to Ibrahim Barid Shah.

Type C: Weight 159 grains, diameter 0.75".

obv: *Al Muwayyad bi*
nasrillāhil ghani.
rev: *Al Sultan*
Amir Barid Shah.

Type D: Another type of copper coins of the ruler has come to light.[6] It weighs 159 grains and measures 0.75" in diameter.

obv: *Al Muwayyad bi*
Nasrillahil Mughni.
rev: *Al-Sultan Amir Barid Shah Bāni.*

The word *Bāni* appearing on this coin is very interesting. Ibrahim assumed this title (Builder) because it was he who consolidated the kingdom.

Type E: A highly interesting copper coin of this king is known.[7] It contains the name of the Bahmani ruler Kalimullah on the obverse. But on the reverse the Barid Shahi king is styled *Shah* and *Sultan.* It has the date 993 A.H. Coins of the same date without mentioning Kalimullah have already been noted above. From this it could be surmised that this coin was issued in the early part of the year 993 with the name of Kalimullah and also adding *Sultan* to his own name. After the circulation of the coin for some time, the Sultan found no opposition and soon after he issued coins omitting Kalimullah's name.

obv: *Kalimullah* 993.
rev: *Sultan Amir Barid Shah.*

Kasim Barid II

A copper coin of 180 grains in weight and 0.65" in diameter has been ascribed to him.

obv: *Al Muwayyad bi*
Nasrillah Sultan.
rev: *Al Sultan Amir Barid Shah* 987.

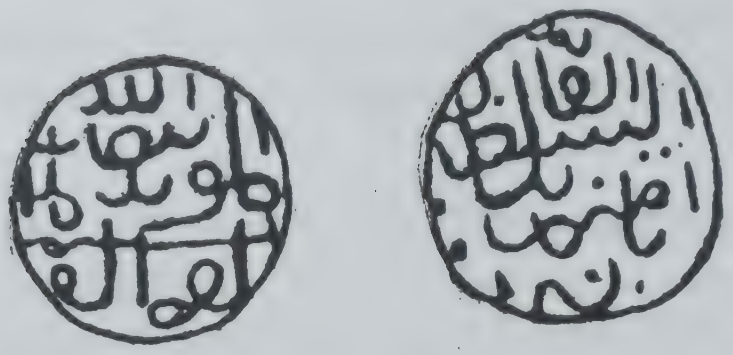
The date 987 A.H. is helpful in assigning this coin to Kasim Barid II, the fifth ruler of the dynasty.

Mirza Ali Barid

Mirza Ali Barid, the eighth king of the Barid Shahis, issued this copper coin. It weighs 290 grains and measures 0.8" in diameter. .

Type A:

obv: *Al Muwayyad bi Nasrillah*
Malikil qawiyyil Ghani.



Copper coin of Mirza Ali Barid

rev: *Al sultan Adil Amir Barid Shah*
Barak 1018.

The title *Al-Sultan-Adil* (Just king) appears at the beginning of the legend on the reverse. This coin was originally assigned to Amir Barid I by Hurmuz Kaus, because of the similarity of this coin to Bahmani coin.[8] Yazdani assigned it to Amir Ali Barid II.[9] But the present coin contains the date 1018 A.H., on which date Mirza Ali Barid III was the ruling king. Hence this coin has been rightly assigned to him by Siddiqui.[10]

Type B: This copper coin of 105 grains and 0.6" can also be ascribed to this ruler on the basis of the similarity of the title (just king) on the obverse.[11]

obv: *Al Sultanul Adil.*
rev: *Amir Barid Shah.*

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4. *Ibid.,* Vol. 21, p. 58.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.,* Vol. 28, p. 82.
7. Ibid. Vol. 22, p. 283.

8. *Ibid.,* Vol. 7, p. 51.
9. *Bidar, Its History and Monuments,* p. 49.
10. *JNSI.,* Vol. 21, p. 58.
11. *Ibid.* In this dynasty there were eight Sultans namely Kasim Barid (1504), Amir Ali (1504-43), Ali Barid (1543-80), Ibrahim Barid (1580-87), Kasim Barid II (1587-92). Amir Barid II (1592-1600), Mirza Ali (1600-09) and Amir Barid III (1609-1619). But the coins of only three Sultans of this dynasty namely the fourth ruler Ibrahim Barid, the fifth Sultan Kasim Barid II and the sixth Sultan Mirza Ali Barid have been discovered so far. Hence there is scope for identifying the coins of the other Sultans. Explorations and excavations in and around Bidar may prove fruitful in this regard.

CHAPTER XXI

COINS OF HAIDAR ALI AND TIPU SULTAN

The rule of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan forms a brilliant chapter in the history of Karnataka. This is more so in the case of the numismatic history of Karnataka for particularly the rule of Tipu saw new innovations in the history of coinage. The variety of the coins of Tipu bewilders even a modern numismatist. Perhaps no individual king in India bestowed such careful thought on minting coins as Tipu did. They are also a delight to the eye by their pleasing artistic merit and fine calligraphy. Hence it is not surprising that we have a large number of works and catalogues on the coins of Tipu. Some of them directly deal with the coinage of Tipu while others contain some useful information on the topic. Edward Moor's Narrative of 1794 contains a section on the coins of Tipu.[1] Kirkpatrick's work also throws some light on the coinage of the period.[2] However, the first systematic work on the subject was written by Marsden.[3] Hawke's work contains an account of many rare coins of Haidar and Tipu.[4] Thurston's Catalogue, confined to the collection at the Madras museum, contains many rare specimens of Tipu's coins.[5] Tufnell catalogued the coins of these two kings which were in the Bangalore museum.[6] Jackson's work also contains a description of the coins of Haidar and Tipu.[7] Taylor's work, though small, is highly useful in understanding the dates found on the coins of Tipu.[8] However, the most competent and the latest work on the subject is by Henderson.[9] It is a highly comprehensive and detailed study of the coins of both Haidar and Tipu. Henderson has consulted all the earlier publications on the subject and has made his work up to date. He has arranged the coins of Tipu on the basis of the mints. In addition to this, the work also contains excellent photographs of the coins. Besides these books there are many research papers which throw light on various aspects of Tipu's coins. Among them mention should be made of Hultzsch who made a special study of the names of the coins of Tipu.[10] The Annual reports of the Archaeological Department of Mysore also contain many notices of the coins of Haidar and Tipu.

Coins of Haidar Ali

Though Haidar became the master of the state in 1761 A.D., he established a mint at Nagar only in 1763 A.D. after annexing it into his kingdom. This shows that he assumed sovereign right of minting coins only after becoming powerful and unchallenged. He was careful enough to continue the old tradition of Hindu deities on his coins also. His gold coins are based upon the earlier coins of Keḷadi Sadāśiva Nāyaka.

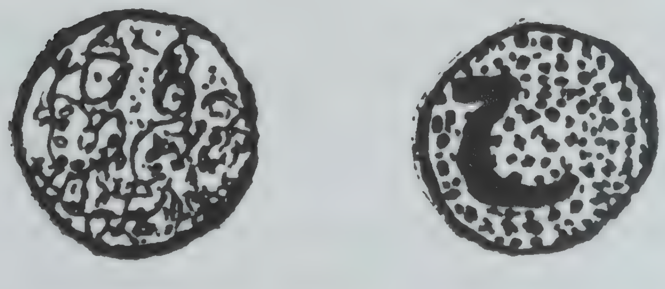
Haidar's coins are known in gold and copper. In gold he minted *pagoḍa, half pagoḍa, paṇam* and *half paṇam* which weigh 52, 26, 5.5 and 2.7 grains respectively.

Type A: This is a *pagoḍa* coin of 51.5 grains. Its diameter is 0.5". This coin called *Bahāduri pagoḍa* was in extensive circulation.

obv: Haidar's initial *he* on a granulated field.
rev: Śiva and Pārvati seated; Śiva holds a trident and a deer.

Type B: This is half *pagoḍa* of 26.5 grains and measures 0.35".

obv: As in type A.
rev: Seated Vishṇu; He has conch and wheel to his left and right.



Gold coin of Haidar

Type C: This is a gold *paṇam* with a weight of 5.5 grains. It measures 0.2" in diameter. It resembles type A in both obverse and reverse.

Type D: It is a gold half *paṇam* and weighs 2.7 grains.

obv: Haidar's initial in a dotted circle.

rev: Within a dotted circle 1166.

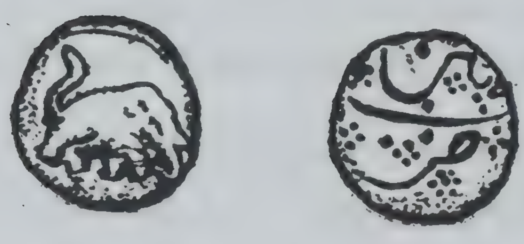
Among the copper coins, a paisa with a weight of 180 grains is generally accepted as belonging to Haidar Ali.

Type E: This copper coin weighs 187 grains.

obv: An elephant with an uplifted tail advancing to right.

rev: Within a dotted circle

Zarb i Balhari.



Copper Coin of Haidar

Some other coins with similar obverse have also been taken as the issues of Haidar.

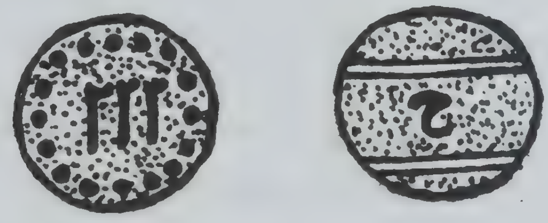
obv: As in type E.

rev: *Zarb i paṭan.*

Some coins contain on the obverse a tiger with uplifted tail and a battle-axe on the reverse. Such coins have been found in half paisa, quarter paisa and eighth paisa. On the basis of the rudeness of these coins, Henderson takes them as coins of Haidar and not of Tipu.[11]

Certain coins which contain numerals in Arabic and Kannaḍa have also been taken as the issues of Haidar Ali by Henderson.[12] Generally they contain either Arabic or Kannaḍa numerals on the obverse and double cross lines on the reverse. Henderson has listed such coins which contain numerals 9 to 14.

At this point it is necessary to refer in brief to the controversy regarding the appearance of the numerals 222 on the Mysore coins. Sohanlal Sisodiya,[13] Girijapathy and Ganesh,[14] Michael Mitchiner[15] Rehan Ahmad[16] and others have taken active part in this controversy. Sisodiya attributed these coins to Tipu and not to Haidar. His main argument was that Haidar was illiterate and could not understand the intricacies of *Abjad* system and that system first appears during the time of Tipu. Hence he interpreted this numeral as *Bakr* (200) *re,* 20 *(Kaf)* and 2 *(be).* But Rehan Ahmad split the letters in *Haidar* as meaning 200+4+10+8=222. Hence he concluded that Haidar Ali was the first ruler in India to apply *Abjad* system to his name. There are many varieties in this type of coin particularly with regard to the numerals.



Coin of Haidar with numeral 222

Coins of Tipu sultan

Coins of Tipu Sultan exist in greater varieties and are spectacular. The contribution of Tipu could be observed in establishing a large number of mints, giving fanciful names to them and also to the coins and minting not less than sixteen denominations in gold, silver and copper and introducing new systems of dating. During the short reign of seventeen years of Tipu, at least sixteen mints were working. These place of mints were selected on account of their military and political importance. Tipu gave to most of these mints fanciful names which are highly interesting. Generally, the names of the mints occur on the coins of Tipu.

Paṭṭan or Śrirangapaṭṭaṇa, the capital of the state had a well established mint. Coins of gold, silver and copper in almost all the denominations were issued from this mint, right from the first regnal year of Tipu to his end, except his last year. The coins of this mint were of superior execution though errors of die are not altogether absent.

Nagar, also called Bednur, had a mint even during the time of Haidar. The uniqueness about this mint is that coins were minted here without any break. *Ahmadi, pagoḍa, paṇam,* double rupee, half rupee, double paisa, paisa, half paisa, quarter paisa and eighth paisa were issued from this mint.

Nazarbar, a suburb of Mysore, was the place of a mint. Sometime in 1787, Tipu destroyed the old fort here and built a new one. He gave the name *Nazarbār* meaning, *'scattering favour'* to it. Copper paisa, half paisa and quarter paisa were minted here. No silver and gold coins of this mint are known. The copper coins minted here bear the dated 1216. Most of these coins are rare.

At the mint at Bengaḷūr were struck copper coins ranging from paisa to eighth paisa. These coins were struck between the fourth and ninth regnal year of Tipu. With an exception, the minting of coins seems to have stopped at this mint from 1219. A notable feature of the coins of this mint is the carefully executed legends on the coins.

The mint at Chitradurga was given the name *Farrukh-yāb Hisār,* meaning *'felicitously acquired fort.'*[17] Though silver and gold coins were not minted here, copper coins of all denominations beginning from double paisa to eighth paisa were struck at this mint. The coins of this mint show dates from 1215 to 1219.

Dharwar, called *'Khwurshed-sawād'* by Tipu was the place of another mint from where coins in all the three metals were minted. In some coins the name Dharwar appears as it is while in others it is written by the name mentioned above. Gold *paṇam, pagoḍa,* silver rupee, copper paisa and half paisa of this mint are known.

Gooty in Ananthapur of Andhra Pradesh was given the name *'Faiz Hisār' (the fort of bounty).* No gold and silver coins were minted here. Copper paisa, half paisa and quarter paisa of this mint are known so far. Most of these coins are not well executed and contain mistakes in writing the legend and the date.

Dinḍigal in Tamilnad, was called *'Khāliquābād',* meaning *the city of God.*[18] Gold *paṇams,* copper paisa and quarter paisa were minted here. Generally, they contain dates ranging from 1215 to 1218. These coins are roughly executed and contain many errors, particularly with regard to dates.

Gurramkonḍa in Cuddappah district of Andhra Pradesh was the seat of another mint. It was given the name *Zafarābād, the city of victory.* This name was first applied to Mercara in Coorg but later it was applied to Gurramkonḍa. Copper paisa, half paisa and quarter paisa were minted here and they are rare.

Satyamangalam in Tamilnad was given the name *Salāmābād, the city of peace.* It was a place of great military importance right from the period of Haidar. It remained in the possession of Tipu Sultan till his end. Copper paisa, half paisa, quarter paisa and eighth paisa were struck at this mint. They are roughly executed and are very rare.

Feroke, seven miles from Calicut, was the seat of another mint. It was called *Farrukhī* meaning *prosperity.* Gold *paṇam,* copper double paisa to quarter paisa were minted here. They bear the dates ranging from 1216 to 1218.

In the mint at Calicut were struck coins in all the three metals. Gold *paṇam,* silver double rupee, copper paisa and quarter paisa of this mint are generally seen. Some of the copper coins of this mint do not have dates on them.

According to Moor, there was a mint at Hoḷe Honnūr in Shimoga district and it was called *Benazir, the incomparable.* Moor actually describes a coin of this mint dated 1217. But no coin of this mint has been found by later writers. So Henderson and others do not include

Hoḷe Honnūr in the list of mint-towns. A.H. Siddiqui has identified three more mints of Tipu. The first one is located at Sakkarepaṭṭaṇa in Kadur taluk of Chikkamagalur district.[19] He has found a copper paisa *(Zohra)* which has on the obverse an elephant and date 1198 and *Sakkar Koṭ* as the *zarb* (mint). This has been identified as Sakkarepaṭṭaṇa as mentioned above. This place was under Haidar Ali and Tipu is known to have utilized the services of this area in some of his military campaigns.

The name of the other mint as given on a copper coin of quarter paisa *(akhtar)* is Abargarh *(zarb).*[20] The coin in question contains on the obverse the elephant and the date and the reverse has the *Zarb i Abargarh.* This has been identified as Abburu in Chitradurga district.

Another copper coin is known to contain the mint town Satara in Maharashtra.[21] But there has been a debate regarding the location of this mint in a far away place in Maharashtra which according to some scholars was not included in either Haidar's or Tipu's kingdom. But the legend on the reverse definitely mentions *Zarb i Satara.*

Though there were sixteen mints mentioned above, all of them were not equally active. All the mints did not strike coins in all the three metals and in all denominations. This point becomes clear from the table given below.

Ahmadī: Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa-Nagar
Sadīqī: Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa
Pagoḍa: Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa-Nagar-Dharwar
Paṇam: Śrīrangapattana-Nagar-Calicut-Farrukhī-Dinḍigal-Dharwar.
Double rupee: Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa-Nagar-Calicut
Rupee: Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa-Nagar-Dharwar
Half rupee: Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa-Nagar
Quarter rupee: Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa
Eighth rupee: Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa
Sixteenth rupee: Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa

Thirty second rupee: Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa

Double paisa: Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa-Nagar-Chitradurga-Farrukhī

Paisa: All the twelve mints and Sakkarkoṭ

Half paisa: All the twelve mints (except Calicut)

Quarter paisa: All the twelve mints (except Dharwar) and Abargarh

Eighth paisa: Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa-Nagar-Bangalore-Chitradurga-Satyamangalam

Tipu Sultan introduced a large number of new denominations in his coinage in all the three metals. He gave each coin a name by which it was referred to. These names are based on the names of the Muslim saints or planets. The following are the values of coins and names given by the Tipu Sultan.

Gold coins

1. The four-*pagoḍa* gold coin was named *Ahmadī*, after the name of the Prophet.
2. The double *pagoḍa* gold coin was called *Sadīquī* after the first Khalifa, Abu Bakar Sadiq.
3. The single *pagoḍa* coins was named *Fārūquī*, after the second Khalifa.
4. The gold *paṇam* was not given any name.

Silver coins

1. The double rupee was called *Haidari*. It was the name of his father and also that the fourth Khalifa.
2. The rupee was named *Imāmī* after the Imams.
3. Half rupee coin was called *Ābidi* in commemoration of Ali zain al Abidin, the fourth Imam.
4. Quarter rupee was named *Bāquirī* after the fifth Imam, Muhammad al Baquir.
5. One-eighth rupee was called *Jafarī* in honour of the sixth Imam, Jafar al Sadiq.

6. One-sixteenth rupee was named *Kāzimī* after the seventh Imam Musa al Kazim.
7. One-thirty-second rupee was called *Khizrī* after the saint Al Khizr.

Copper coins

1. The double paisa was called by two names, *Oṭhmānī* and *Mushṭarī.* Othman is the name of the third Khalifa. The second name is derived from Al Mushtari, the name of the planet Jupiter.
2. Paisa was called *Zohrā* and it refers to planet Venus.
3. Half paisa coin was called *Bahrām* after the planet Mars.
4. Quarter paisa coin was called *Akhtar.* The word refers to a star.
5. One-eight paisa was called *Qutb* and it refers to pole star.

The relative value of these coins is as follows:

1 *Ahmadī* = 2 *Sadīquī*
1 *Sadīquī* = 2 *Fārūquī*
1 *Fārūquī* = 10 *paṇam*
1 *Haidarī* = 2 *Imāmī*
1 *Imāmī* = 2 *Ābidi*
1 *Ābidī* = 2 *Bāquirī*
1 *Bāquirī* = 2 *Jafarī*
1 *Jafarī* = 2 *Kāzimī*
1 *Kāzimī* = 2 *Khizrī*
1 *Oṭhmānī* or *Mushṭarī* = 2 *Zohrā*
1 *Zohrā* = 2 *Bahrām*
1 *Bahrām* = 2 *Akhtar*
1 *Akhtar* = 2 *Qutb*

Tipu sultan introduced certain changes in the method of dating his coins. The first four year of his reign contain the *Hijri* era. They contain the dates 1197 to 1200 *Hijri,* corresponding to his first four regnal years. In his fifth year he replaced the *Hijri* era on his coins and introduced *Maulūdi* era. So, the coins of the fifth regnal year of Tipu contain the year 1215 *Maulūdi* era and they are continued up to his last regnal year. Thus the seventeenth regnal year of Tipu corresponds to 1227 of *Maulūdi* era. *Maulūdi* era dates from the birth of the Prophet. It is a luni-solar year of twelve months with an additional month *(adhika māsa)* added at certain intervals. While adopting this new calendar on his coins, Tipu followed the Hindu calendar which was popular in Mysore. This calendar had sixty cyclic years of twelve months each and an occasional additional month.

While giving new names to these cyclic years, Tipu Sultan followed two systems, the *abjad and* the *abtath.* The former system contained twenty two different numbers which denoted twenty two Arabic letters of the Arabic alphabet. Twenty eight numbers are assigned to these letters. The first four years of Tipu's reign follow the *abjad* system while from the fifth regnal year to his last year follow the *abtath* system. The following are the names given by Tipu to the cyclic years. The serial numbers attached to them correspond to his regnal years and the numbers within the brackets refers to cyclic years.

1. *Zaki,* pure (37)
2. *azal,* eternity (38)
3. *Jalan,* splendour (39)
4. *dalv,* aquarius (40)
5. *Shāh,* king (41)
6. *Sārā,* fragrant (42)
7. *Sarāb,* mirage (43)
8. *Shitā,* winter (44)
9. *Zabarjad,* topaz (45)
10. *Sahar,* dawn (46)
11. *Sāhar,* Magician (47)
12. *Rāsikh,* firm (48)

13. *Shād,* joyful (49)
14. *Hirāsat,* guard (50)
15. *Sāz,* concord (51)
16. *Shādāb,* moist (52)
17. *Bārish,* rain (53)

On the model of the cyclic years, Tipu Sultan gave new names to the twelve months of the year also. For the first four years of his reign he used *abjad* system. The remaining years were associated with *abtath* method. The copper coins from the year 1224 to 1227 contain four Arabic letters each on the obverse over the elephant. These letters represent the years.

Many of the silver and gold coins of Tipu exhibit a peculiar milling and scholars think that this must have been due to French impact. The milling on Tipu's coins "consists of one or two irregular grooves running round the edge of the coin interrupted at regular intervals by transverse depressions or indentations in such a manner as to give almost a crenated appearance to the margin." Milling is generally seen in *Ahmadī, Sadīquī, pagoḍas* and from double rupee to quarter rupee.

Gold coins

Tipu Sultan's gold coin of the highest value was a *four-pagoḍa* coin called *Ahmadī* by him. Its weight ranges from 210 to 215 grains and is equal to four *pagoḍas* of 52 grains each. It has a diameter of 0.9". This coin was minted at Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa and Nagar. It is one of the very elegant coins of Tipu and contains legends on both sides. Both sides have dotted borders within which is seen a linear circle and the legend. But for minor variations this coin can be seen in a single type. On the obverse is the legend meaning *'The religion of Ahmad is illumined in the world by the victory of Haidar. Minted at Paṭṭan, the cyclic year Azal* (38), 1192'. On the reverse is seen the legend. *He is the Sultan, the unique, the Just, the third of Bahari, the cyclic year Azal, regnal year* 2.

obv: *Din i Ahmed dar*
jahan Roshan
zi Fath-i-Hyder ast
Zarb i patan
1198 *Hijri Azal San*

rev: *Hawas Sultan*
Hyder
al Waliyyul Adil
Azal San Julus 2

In a sub-variety of this coin, the word *Muhammad* is added at the end of the legend in the obverse. In all other respects, it is similar to the coin described above. In the other variety, the word *Muhammad* is added at the beginning of the legend on the obverse and not at the end. Further the name of the coin, *Ahmadī* also finds a place on the obverse.

The next gold coin was *Ṡadīquī* and it was half the value of *Ahmadī*. *Sadīquī* weighs about 105 grains and measures 0.75" in diameter. This coin is similar to *Ahmadī* in both obverse and reverse, except for the change in the name of the coin and also the dates.

Fārūquī or *pagoḍa* is the next gold coin of Tipu Sultan. This was minted at Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa, Nagar and Dharwar. It weighs 52 grains and measures 0.6". Three types of *Fārūquīs* can be distinguished.

Type A: In this type the obverse contains a granulated field in which is seen the initial of Haidar combined with the name of the mint and the regnal year. The reverse has the legend *'He is the Sultan, the Just'* and the *Hijri* year.

Type B:

obv: Same as in type A.
rev: The word *Muhammad* appears at the beginning of the legend.

Type C:

obv: No granulated space; the word *Fārūquī* is written.

rev: Same as in type B. The word Muhammad appears at the beginning of the legend.

Gold paṇam of Tipu

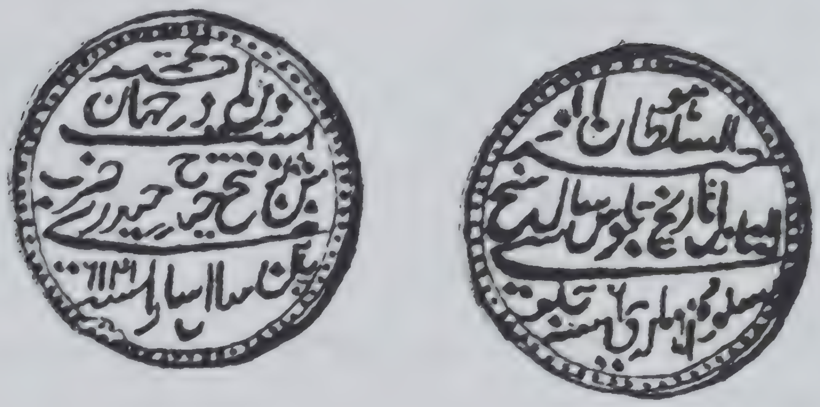
Paṇam was the smallest gold coin of Tipu Sultan. Its weight was 5-6 grains. It measures 0.28" to 0.32" in diameter. This is the only coin of Tipu to which he did not give any name. These *paṇams* generally contain the initial of Haidar on the obverse and the legend on the reverse. On the basis of the differences in legends on the reverse, many types can be distinguished. In type A, the reverse contains the inscription mentioning the mint and the year. The *paṇams* of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa mint contain the legend *'struck at Paṭṭan in the year* 1198' on the reverse. In type B, the date is written first followed by the name of the mint. This is seen in the *paṇams* struck from the second to the thirteenth regnal years of Tipu Sultan. The *paṇams* minted at Nagar follow this pattern.

Silver coins

Silver coins of seven denominations were issued by Tipu. The coin of the highest value in silver was a double rupee, called *Haidarī.* It weighs about 355 grains and measures 1.4" in diameter. Three types can be seen in this coin.

Type A:

obv: On a field ornamented with dotted rosettes, a double lined circle with a row of dots; the legend in seven lines.



Silver double rupee of Tipu

It means *'the religion of Ahmad is illumined in the world by the victory of Haidar. Struck at Paṭṭan, the cyclic year and the Hijri year'.*

rev: Ornamentation as in the obverse. The legend reads *'He is the Sultan, the Unique, the Just. date'.*

Type B: The word *Muhammad* is added at the beginning of the legend in the obverse. In all other respects it resembles the type A.

Type C: In this type, the word struck is placed before the name of the mint in the last line in the obverse. The second silver coin of Tipu Sultan was a rupee called *Imāmī.* It was half of the double rupee in value and weighed 175 grains. It measured 1.1" in diameter. This coin was struck at Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa, Nagar and Dharwar. This coin resembles the double rupee in obverse and reverse. In the obverse is seen the legend which means *'Ahmad. The religion of Muhammad is illumined in this world by the victory of Haidar Imāmī struck at Nagar, the cyclic year Sārā* (42), *Maulūdi year* 1216'. The reverse reads *'He is the Sultan, the Unique, the Just, the date of accession, the cyclic year Sakh* (37), *the third Bahāri regnal year* 6'. In type B of this coin there is a slight variation in the legend. The word *Muhammad* appears first and then is seen the word *Ahmad.* But in other respects it is similar to type A.

obv: *Muhammad Din i Ahmed dar*
Jahan Roshan zi

Fath-i-Hydar ast
Imāmi
Zarb-i-nagar
San Sārā 1216.
rev: *Hawas Sultanul*
Waliyyul Ādil Hyder
San Sakh Bahar
Julus 6

Half rupee or *Ābidī* was the next silver coin. It weighed 87 grains and measured 0.8" in diameter. The legends on the obverse and the reverse are similar to gold *Ahmadī.* In some specimens the word *Muhammad* is added at the beginning of the legend on the obverse.

Quarter-rupee called *Bāquirī,* was the next silver coin. It weighed 43 grains and measured 0.6" in diameter. Only one type of this coin has come to light.

obv: *Hawas Sultan*
Hyder
al Waliyyul Ādil
San 1216 *Muhammad.*
rev: *San* 6
Bāquirī
he paṭan.

It contains the word *Muhammad* at the beginning of the legend in the obverse. The legend *'He is the sultan, the Unique, the just'.* found on the reverse of the earlier coins now becomes the legend on the obverse. The reverse contains the name of the coin, the year and the mint.

One-eighth rupee which was called *Jafarī* was the next smaller coin in silver. Its average weight was 20 grains. Its diameter was 0.4." As the coin is small, the inscription becomes short. The obverse contains the word *Muhammad,* the *Maulūdi* year and the mint. The reverse shows the name of the coin and the regnal year of Tipu Sultan.

obv: *San* 1218 *Muhammad*
Zarb-i-patan
rev: *Jafari*
Julus 8.

One-sixteenth rupee called *Kāzimī*, weighed 10 grains. It measured 0.3" in diameter. This coin was minted at Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa between 1220 and 1226. This coin is almost similar to one-eighth rupee.

obv: Same as in *Jafarī*.
rev: *Kāzimī*
Julus 10.

The smallest silver coin of Tipu Sultan was one-thirty-second rupee. Its weight was 5 grains. Its legend is confined to the name of the coin and the regnal year.

obv: *Zarb-i-Darus*
sultanat.
rev: *Khizri*
12.

Copper coins

Tipu Sultan issued five different types of copper coins ranging from double-paisa to eighth-paisa. The copper coins generally contain an elephant on the obverse. It is shown advancing either to left or to right. Occasionally, it is shown with its uplifted trunk. The elephant is caparisoned and well ornamented. With some exceptions, the coins upto 1221 show the elephant to the left whereas in the later coins it is shown advancing to right. The double paisa of Tipu Sultan is one of the most elegant copper coins of India.

The double paisa of Tipu Sultan weighs 331 to 352 grains. The diameter of this coin is generally 1.2". Three types of this coin can be distinguished.

Type A:

obv: Elephant to right with uplifted trunk; above the elephant is a flag; above the tail is the date.

rev: *Oṭhman*
Darb-i-Darus
Sultanat-i-paṭan.

Type B:

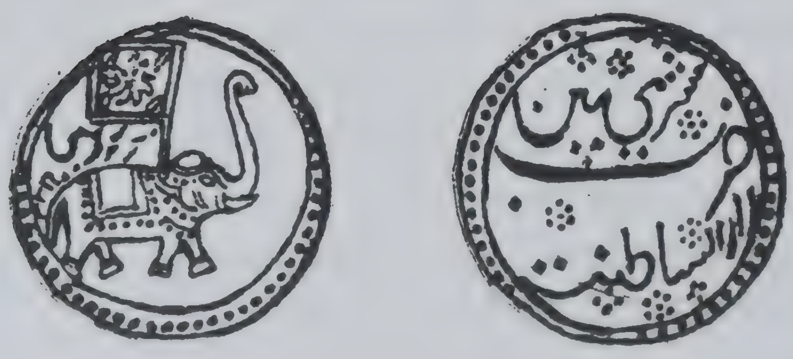
obv: Similar to type A; but the word *Maulūdi* appears above the elephant.

rev: *Mushṭari*
Zarb-i-Darus Sultanat
i paṭan
1222 *Maulūdi.*

Type C:

obv: Elephant to right with depressed trunk; the flag over the elephant contains the letter *a.*

rev: *Mushṭari*
Darb-i-Darus
Sultanat.

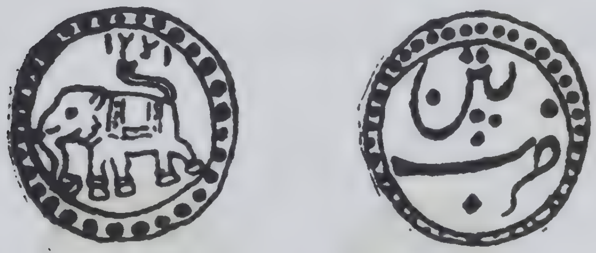


Copper double paisa of Tipu

The next copper coin was paisa, called *Zohra.* It weighed 174 grains and measured 0.9." This coin was minted at all the mints. Three types of this coin can be distinguished.

Type A:

obv: Elephant advancing to left with uplifted tail; above the tail is the date 1221.



Copper paisa of Tipu

rev: On a field with dotted rosettes a double lined circle with a row of dots; legend *Dharb-i-paṭan.*

Type B:

obv: Elephant advancing to right with uplifted tail; the word *Maulūdi* and 1221 above.

rev: *Zohra*

Zarb i paṭan.

Type C:

obv: Elephant advancing to right with depressed tail; the letter *a* above the elephant.

rev: *Zarb i paṭan*

Zohara

1224 Maulūdi.

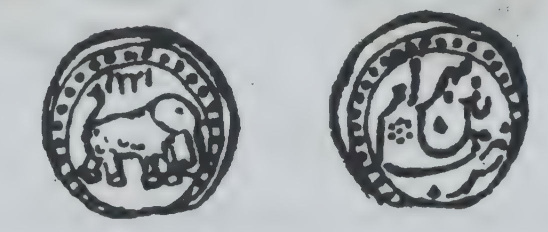
The half paisa called *Bahram* is almost similar to paisa in legends. It weighs 87 grains and measures 0.85"in diameter. The word *Maulūdi* is generally absent on this coin with the exception of this coin minted at Nagar in the last three years of Tipu's reign. Some specimens do not contain any date.

Type A:

obv: Elephant advancing to left with uplifted tail; above the tail is seen the date 1200.

rev: In a double lined circle a row of thick dots; legend *Zarb i paṭan.*

The circle is partly out of the flan.



Half paisa of Tipu

Type B:

obv: Elephant advancing to right with uplifted tail; date 1221 above the elephant.

rev: *Bahrām*
Zarb i paṭan.

The quarter paisa, called *Akhtar*, is almost similar to the half paisa. The *Akhtar* weighs on the average 42 grains and measure 0.5" in diameter. This coin was minted at all the mints, except Dharwar. Many errors of date and legend are generally seen on this coin, particularly those minted at Nagar, Gooty and Dinḍigal. Generally this coin contains dates. But specimens without dates minted at Paṭan, Gooty, Bangalore, Calicut and Dinḍigal are also known.

Type A:

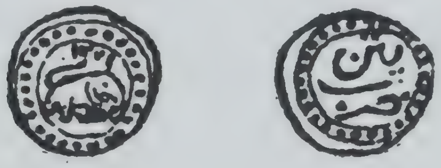
obv: Elephant advancing to right within a lined circle.

rev: 1198
Zarb i paṭan.

Type B:

obv: Elephant advancing to left; the date 1221 above the tail.
rev: *Zarb i paṭan.*

This coin though small is very elegant in portraying the elephant on the obverse and the legend on the reverse.



Quarter paisa of Tipu

Type C:

obv: As in type A but the date above the elephant.
rev: *Akhtar*
Zarb i paṭan.

Type D:

obv: Elephant advancing to right with depressed tail and the letter *a* over it.
rev: As in type C.

Type E:

obv: Elephant to right; Its front foot raised.
rev: As in type A.

The smallest copper coin of Tipu Sultan was one-eighth paisa, *Qutb.* Its average weight was 21 grains. Its diameter was 0.4". The obverse of this coin contains as usual an elephant. The reverse has the date or the name of the mint or both. In some specimens the name of the mint is not seen.

Type A:

obv: Elephant advancing to left with uplifted tail; date 1216 above the elephant.
rev: *Zarb i paṭan.*

Type B:

obv: As in type A.
rev: *Qutb*
Zarb.

Type C:

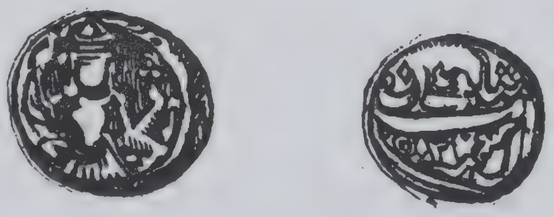
obv: Elephant advancing to right and date above.
rev: *Qutb*
Zarb i paṭan.

Type D:

obv: As in type A, but the tail of the elephant depressed; letter *t* over the elephant.
rev: *Qutb*
Zarb i nagar
1226.

Similar coins from Satyamangalam and *Farrukhyab Hisar* contain on the obverse their name.

Before concluding this section on the coins of Tipu, an interesting new discovery has to be mentioned. Sohanlal Sisodia of Bangalore has discovered a gold coin of Tipu which has on the obverse the goddess Śāradā of Śringēri. The goddess is seated and has all the ornaments and the parrot is finely depicted. The reverse has the usual legend of Tipu's coin. In this connection it has to be remembered that Tipu had very cordial relations with the *Śankarāchārya* of Śringēri and has written more than forty letters to the *Swāmiji,* which are couched in fine and respectful language.[22] Each letter starts with the salutations *(Tipu Sultān Bādshāhka salām).* Tipu even gave large amount of money to rebuild the Śringēri *maṭha* when it was destroyed by the Marāṭhas. In one of these letters Tipu is said to have given to the Śringeri maṭha two hundred *Rahatis* and other material for the consecration *(pratishṭhāpane)* of *Śāradāmbā* in the newly built temple.[23] So far, the meaning of the word *Rahati* was not known. It was simply taken as relief, though it did not convey the full meaning. We know that Tipu gave each coin a fanciful name and hence *Rahati* was the name given by Tipu to these coins which he specially minted for giving relief to the Śāradā temple. Obviously he chose to have the goddess on the obverse as it would be most appropriate, for the occasion. However, we are not sure whether these coins were used exclusively for that purpose or were they used for other general transactions also. Most probably, these coins were used on that special occasion only and that is the reason why they are not so prolific as the other gold coins.



Gold coin with Śāradāmbā of Śringeri

obv: Goddess Śāradāmbā; seated and ornamented; parrot in the right hand.

rev: *Hawas sultan*
alwayyid al addal
1215

Sisodiya has three different varieties of this type. Thus it is a very important coin.

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10. *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. 18, p. 315.
11. *Coins of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan,* p. 7, nos. 22 to 25.
12. *Ibid.,* p. 6, nos. 16 to 21.
13. *ND,* Vol. V, (i), p. 63.
14. *Kannaḍanāḍu Numismatic Society,* Newsletter, Feb. 1995.
15. *Coin Circulation in Southernmost India,* p. 203
16. *IIRNS Newsline,* October 1995, Issue 8, p. 5
17. Tufnell reads it *Farrukh-bad Hisār* and translates it as *'the fort of the fortunate gate'.*
18. Hawkes and other writers identify this mint with Chandegal, very near Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa. Taylor and Henderson have argued to show that this place was not Chandegal but Dinḍigal. It is extremely unlikely that Tipu would have established another mint so near to his chief mint at Śrirangapaṭṭaṇa. Further Chandegal is an insignificant small village whereas Dinḍigal with a strong fort has been important militarily.
19. *ND,* 16, p. 230.
20. *SSIC,* VII, p. 123.
21. Paper presented at *JNSI* conference at Pune.
22. *Records from Śringeri,* nos. 43 to 66.
23. *Ibid.* no. 47.

CHAPTER XXII

COINS OF THE WAḌEYARS OF MYSORE

The rule of the Dynasty of the Waḍeyars of Mysore forms a brilliant chapter in the political and cultural history of Southern Karnataka. According to tradition, Vijaya and Krishṇa, two young Kshatriyas of Yādava origin came to the South and after killing a wicked king established themselves at Hadināḍu, very near, the city of Mysore. Vijaya also called Yadurāya, is said to have ruled from 1399 to 1423 A.D. It was Rāja Waḍeyar (1578-1617 A.D) who extended his dominions and established Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa as his capital. His grandson Chāmarāja VI (1717-37) is famous in literature by his work *Chāmarājōktivilāsa.* This dynasty further became important during the reign of Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar (1638-59). The kingdom of Mysore became independent during his reign. He defeated Ranadulla Khan of Bijāpur and the Nāyak of Madurā and extended his dominions. Chikkadēvarāja (1673-1704) was another great ruler of this family. He also defeated the Marāṭhas and Madurai Nāyak. He made administrative reforms and enriched the State treasury. He was styled *'Navakōṭi Nārāyaṇa'.* This Vaishṇava ruler was a patron of art and letters too. He was the author of *Chikkadēvarāja Binnapa.* His court was adorned by eminent men of letters like Tirumalārya, Chikkupādhyāya, Singarārya, Honnamma and others. Then came some of the weak rulers during which period, the *Daḷavoys* became powerful. Then Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan occupied the Mysore kingdom. It was under their control from 1761 to 1799 A.D. Then the kingdom was restored by the British to Krishaṇarāja Waḍeyar III (1799-1868 A.D). As this king was a boy, Pūrnaiah as *Dewan* looked after the administration. Krishṇarāja is famous in literature as the patron of many learned men. He was followed by Chāmarājēndra Waḍeyar, Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar IV and Jaya Chāmarāja Waḍeyar. With the establishment of a Democratic Republic, the rule of the family of Waḍeyars came to an end in 1950.

The coins of the Waḍeyars are a link between the past and the present. Being subordinates of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara, these rulers imitated the Vijayanagara coinage not only in typology but also in weight-standard. The gold *paṇam* and half *varaha* of Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja and Krishṇarāja are so close to the Vijayanagara issues that some scholars mistook them as Vijayanagara coins. However, we find a large number of innovations made by these rulers in their copper and silver coins. They contain elephant or lion on the obverse with legends in either Kannaḍa Nāgari, English or Persian. The copper coins contain the value of the coin inscribed on them. However, mistakes in writing the legend, particularly, the English words and numerals on the copper coins of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar are numerous.

Among the rulers of the Waḍeyar dynasty, Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja was the first to establish a mint at Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa. It was he who minted the independent coinage of his family as a mark of royal status. Sometime during the reign of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III, a mint was established in Mysore. This mint was working till 1833. In that year the mint was transferred from Mysore to Bangalore. The mint at Bangalore was closed in 1843 and no Mysore coin was minted after that. Though the minting of the coins of Mysore stopped in 1843, they were in circulation for over four decades.

The epigraphic and literary data do not help much in understanding the coinage of the Waḍeyar period. Some of the inscriptions mention the term *Kanṭhīraya guḷige* and this is the same as the gold coin issued by Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar. It is interesting to note that this coin is equated with *varaha.* Hence *guḷige* is the term used for *varaha* during the period. However, the term *gadyāṇa* does not occur frequently in the inscriptions of the period. Very rarely the word *nishka* is used in the sense of a *varaha. Kanṭhīrāya guḷige* is generally abbreviated as *kam gu* in inscriptions as well as records.

The next gold coin as mentioned in the inscriptions is *haṇa* or *paṇa.* Actually two types of *haṇas* are mentioned. The first one is the double *haṇa* five of which were equal to a *varaha.* The other type is single *haṇa* ten of which were equal to a *varaha.* They also issued half *varaha* coins. The next gold coin was *bēḷe.* It was one fourth of a single *haṇa.* One *bēḷe* was equal to two and a half *aḍḍas.* Thus *aḍḍa* was the smallest gold coin of the period. From the above data we can deduce the following relative values.

1 *varaha*	= 1 *guḷige*	= 52 grains
half *varaha*	= 5 *haṇas*	= 26 grains
1 *haṇa*	= 4 *bēḷe*	= 5.2 grains
1 *bēḷe*	= 2½ *aḍḍas*	= 1.3 grains
1 *aḍḍa*		= 0.5.2 grains
1 *varaha*	= 100 *aḍḍas*	

Silver coinage included a rupee, half rupee and quarter rupee. The word *tāra* is mentioned in an inscription of 1733 A.D.[1] As *tāra* is known to have been a silver coin during the Vijayanagara period, the same was the case during this period also. *Dīnāra* is also mentioned in an inscription of 1663 A.D. and from the context it appears to be a silver coin.[2] But its weight and other details are not known. *Kāsu* is found mentioned as a copper coin of the period and are found in different weights.

Coins of Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar

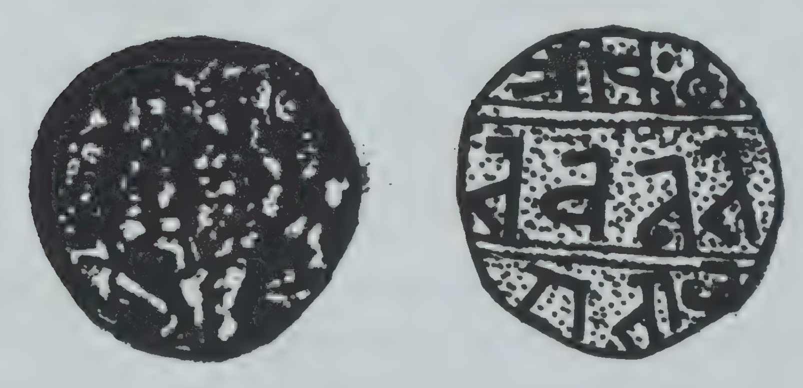
As already pointed out Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja was the first to establish a mint and strike coins. About 1646, he minted gold coins. His gold coins can be seen in two denominations, half *varaha* and *paṇam.* It is generally believed that Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja struck only gold *paṇams.* According to Rice, "Kanṭhīrava coined *paṇams* only *(Kanṭhīrava haṇa),* but ten of these were taken to be equal to a *varaha* or *pagōḍa,* which had, however, no actual existence, but was a nominal coin used in accounts only. The Mysore Rājas did not coin *varaha or pagōḍa.*"[3] But this opinion of Rice is erroneous for a half *varaha* of

26 grains has been brought to light by Krishna.[4] It weighs 26 grains and measures 0.4" in diameter.

obv: Four armed Narasimha with Lakshmī on his left lap; Narasimha holds *śankha* and *chakra.*

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines

śrī kamṭhī
ravanara
sarāja.



Gold coin of Kaṇṭhīrava Narasarāja

Type B: This is a *haṇa* or *paṇa.* It weighs 5.2 grains and measures 0.25" in diameter.

obv: Narasimha holding *śankha* and *chakra.*

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines with lines separating them

śrī
kamṭhī
rava.

This type of *paṇam* became highly popular not only in Karnataka but in the whole of South India during the period. In fact, it was in circulation even a century after Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja. Many South Indian petty chiefs even imitated these *haṇas.* Dewan Pūrnaiah re-issued these coin and they are famous as *giḍḍa Kanṭhīrāya haṇa* to distinguish them from the originals of Narasarāja which are referred to as *agala Kanṭhīrāya haṇa.*

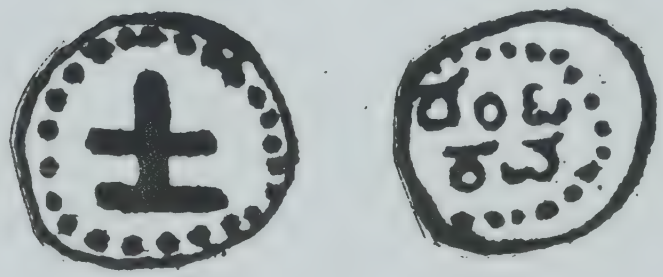
Recently six types of copper coins of Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar have been discovered.[5] Their variety is really amazing. They are very elegant and deserve special mention from the point of view of beauty. They may be described now.

Type A: This is in the collection of Kundanmal Jain. Its diameter is 13 mm; weight 2.1 gms; thickness 3 mm.

obv: Within a circle of dots a Śivalinga with a pedestal

rev: Within a circle of dots two-line Kannaḍa legend

kamṭī
rava



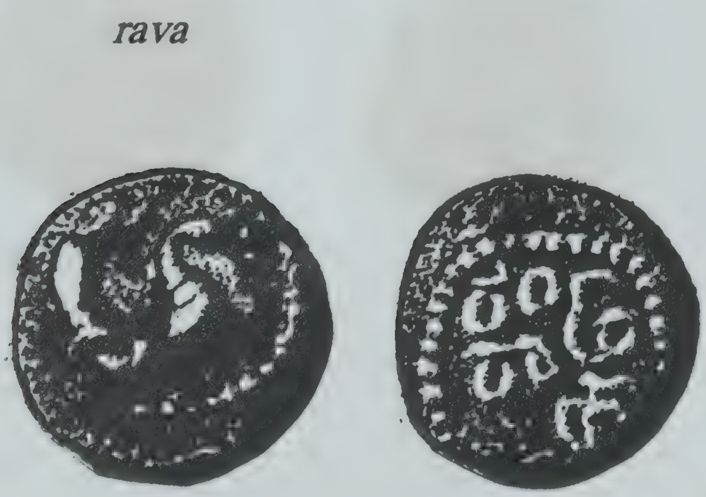
Śivalinga type copper coin

Type B: The next five types are reported by A. Seetharaman of Tanjāvūr. Weight 2 gms

obv: Within a circle of dots a peacock looking right

rev: Within a circle of dots a two line Kannaḍa legend

kamṭī
rava

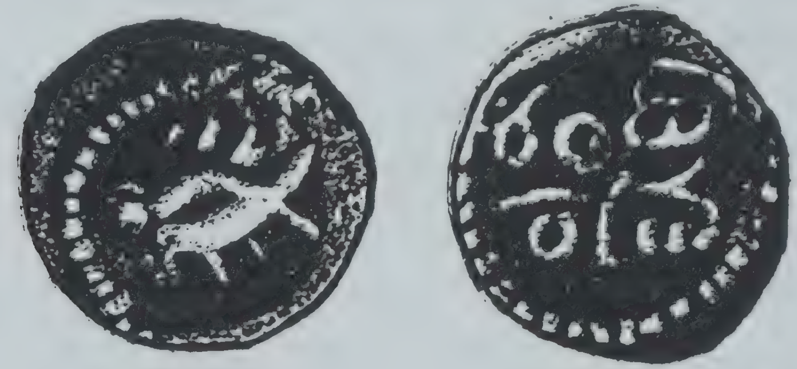


Peacock type of copper coin

Type C: Weight 1.8 gms

obv: Within a circle of dots a horizontal fish

rev: As in type B



Fish type of copper coin

Type D: Weight 1.9 gms

obv: Seated Gaṇapati

rev: As in type B

Type E: Weight 1.7 gms

obv: Within a circle of dots Kārtikēya seated on a peacock

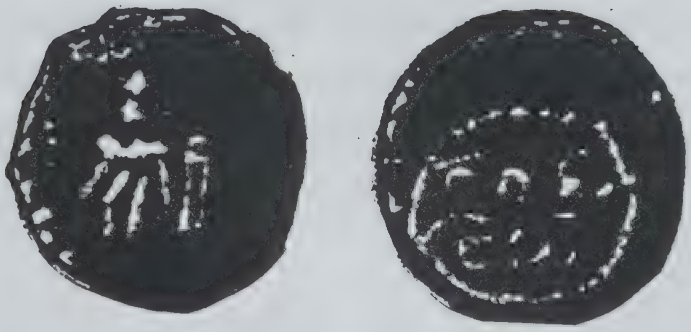
rev: As in type B

Kārtikēya type of copper coin

Type F: Weight 2 gms

obv: A standing goddess under a three arched *maṇḍapa*

rev: As in type B



Goddess type of copper coin

All these coins have been found in the area round about Satyamangalam, Coimbatore, Sulur, Karur and Erode, i.e.. Kongu country. It is well known that Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar annexed this area to his kingdom. Hence to commemorate this great victory he must have issued these coins for circulation in the Kongu country. That is the reason for their non-discovery in Mysore or Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa. The coin type A is interesting as it contains a Śiva linga. The Madurai Nāyakas are known to have issued coins with Śiva linga. Perhaps after defeating them, Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar commemorated this event by introducing Śiva linga on one side and his own name on the other. In this connection it has to be remembered that king Chikkadēvarāja Waḍeyar minted gold coins with dancing Krishṇa on the snake symbolising the victory over the Madurai Nāyaks. The same can be said with regard to his copper coins with Śiva linga. Whatever might have been the real significance of these coins, they occupy a prominent place in the coinage of the Mysore Waḍeyar period. These coins have also added for the first time the copper coins of the ruler who inaugurated the Mysore Waḍeyar coinage.

Coins of Chikkadēvarāja Waḍeyar

Only gold coins of Chikkadēvarāja are known. They are in denominations of *varaha,* half *varaha* and *haṇa.* Chikkadēvarāja did not continue the Lakshmīnarasimha type of Narasarāja but began the Bālakrishṇa type.

Type A: This is a *varaha* with a weight of 52.7 grains. Its diameter is 0.4". It has Bālakrishṇa on the obverse.

obv: Bālakrishṇa dancing under an ornamental arch; he wears a girdle of jingles and holds a lump of butter in his right hand; near his feet is what looks like a lotus or a serpent.

rev: Three line Nāgari legend with intervening lines separating them.

śrī chi
kadēva
rāja

Type B: This is a half *varaha.* It weighs 25.7 grains and measures 0.3" in diameter.

obv: As in type A.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines

śrī chika
dēvarā
ja

Type C: This is a *haṇa.*

obv: Figure of Chāmuṇḍi.

rev: Three line Nāgari legend in Kannaḍa

Chika
dēva
rāja.

An inscription mentions *Tāṇḍava Krishṇamūrti dēvarāya* and states that this was issued to commemorate his victory over Madurā. This is also confirmed by Tonḍanūr copper plate of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II which states that Chikkadēva emulated the sport of Krishṇa in having conquered the lord of Madurā. *(Tāṇḍava* dance on a cobra).

Coins of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III

During the infancy of Krishnarāja Waḍeyar, Pūrṇaiah, the famous Dewan, looked after the administration of the State. During his administration Pūrṇaiah struck the following coins. He re-issued the popular *Ikkēri varaha* and called it *Hosa Ikkēri varaha.* Its weight was 52 grains.

obv: Śiva and Pārvati seated; Śiva holds trident and a deer in his right and left hands.

rev: Kannaḍa letter *Śrī.*

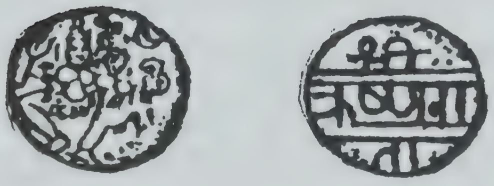
Pūrṇaiah also re-coined, the highly popular *Kanṭhīrāya haṇa,* originally struck by Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar. These coins of Pūrṇaiah are known as *Giḍḍa Kanṭhīrāya haṇa.* They are similar to the original *Kanṭhīrāya haṇa.*

On assuming the full powers for himself, Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III, minted coins in gold, silver and copper. His gold coin, a *varaha* weighs 52 grains. It measures 0.5" in diameter.

obv: Śiva and Pārvati seated; Śiva holds a trident and a deer in his right and left hands; sun and moon are seen above.

rev: Three line Nāgari legend with double horizontal lines.

Śrī
Krishṇarā
ja.



Gold coin of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III

According to Buchanan, this gold coin was called *Kartār Ikkēri Varaha.* The word *Kartār* referred to the ruling king as different from the minor chiefs who also issued similar coins.

During the reign of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar, silver coins were issued in denominations of a rupee, half rupee, quarter rupee, *Aḍḍa* and *Hāga.* They can be divided into many types.

Type A: This is silver rupee. It was called *Rāja rupāyi* and was issued in the name of the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam. It measures 0.9" in diameter. It is almost like a Mughal coin with legends in Persian on both sides.

obv: *Sikka zad bar haft kishwar*
saya i fadl i Ilah
Humi i din i Muhammad
Shah Alam padshah.

rev: *Zarb i Mahisur*
san 47 *Julus.*

The obverse means 'the defender of the Muhammadan faith, reflection of divine excellence, the emperor Shah Alam struck this coin to be current throughout the seven climates'. The reverse means 'struck at Mysore in the 47th regnal year of the auspicious reign'.

Type B: This is a half rupee and was called *Rāja ardha rupāyi.* It measures 0.75" in diameter. It is similar to type A in obverse.

Type C: This is a quarter rupee and is similar to type A in both obverse and reverse. It measures 0.6" in diameter.

Type D: This is also a quarter rupee. But it is entirely different from the type C. The name of the Mughal emperor does not find a place on this coin. On the other hand, the figure of Krishṇa appears on the obvese.[6] In the reverse is seen the name of Krishṇarāja in Persian. The coin was struck at Mysore. It measures 0.6" in diameter.

obv: Within a circle of dots, dancing figure of Krishṇa; he holds a lump of butter in his upper hand.

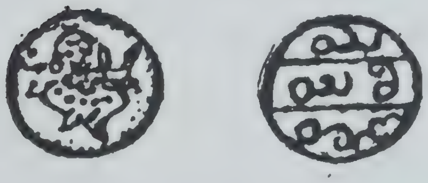
rev: Within a circle of dots, Persian legend
Kishenraj waḍiyar
julus 1244
Zarb i Mahishur.

Type E: This is a silver *Aḍḍa* or half *paṇam.* It measures 0.4" in diameter.

obv: Within a circle of dots dancing Bālakrishṇa.

rev: Three line Kannaḍa legend with two double horizontal lines between

ma
yili
haṇa.



Half paṇa (Aḍḍa)

Type F: This is a silver *Hāga* or quarter *haṇa.* It measures 0.3" in diameter. It is similar to type E in both obverse and reverse.

The word *Mayili,* also written as *Meilee,* has been a subject of controversy. Its exact connotation is not known. Rice explained it as reduced body or thin or as a contraction for *Mayisur* and *li,* the locative suffix. But the himself said that it is not probable. Sohanlal Sisodiya, a coin collector and numismatist, has given an explanation of the term *Mayili.*[7] According to him, its correct form is *Meilee* and an abbreviated form of the legend *"Minted by East India Lordship in Existing Establishment."* In support of this explanation it could be said that this word appears for the first time on the coins of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III. The British commission was appointed in 1831 to be the guardian of the Mahārāja. It had to perform during the suspension of the rule of the Rāja, the duties of a regency. In this execution it is said that *"His lordship* will do little violence as possible in *Existing Establishment* and institutions..." The words in italics are worth noting in this connection. So when the king's rule was suspended, the British government in the *existing establishment* took the responsibility of minting coins. This is evidently abbreviated in the word *Meilee* found on the coins of this period. While transliterating it into Kannaḍa it became *Mayili* or *Maily.* Thus it is not a word in Kannaḍa.

Copper coins of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III exhibit a great variety. Dated and undated coins can be seen. They contain on the obverse either an elephant or a lion, and legends in Nāgari, of the king, date and value of the coin.

A coin of 40 *kāsu* is the highest copper coin of this ruler. It is rarely met with.

obv: Caparisoned elephant with Kannaḍa letter *Śrī* above with sun and moon on two sides.

rev: Within a circle of dots, three line legend; the first two lines in Kannaḍa

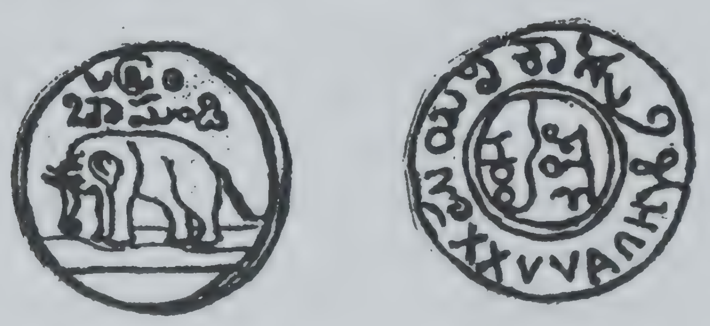
Mayili kā
su Nalvattu
XL CASH.

25 *Kāsu* is the next copper coin of this ruler. They can be divided into four types.

Type A: This coin measure 1.1" in diameter.

obv: An elephant within a lined circle; above is seen the legend *Śrī Chāmunḍi* in Kannaḍa; on both sides sun and moon.

rev: Inscription in a circular way *Mayilikāsu* 25 in Kannaḍa followed by *XXV AUH* in English.[8] Within the inner circle *Krishṇa* in Kannaḍa.



Elephant type of Mayilikāsu 25 of Krishṇarāja III

Type B: This coin measures 1.0" in diameter.

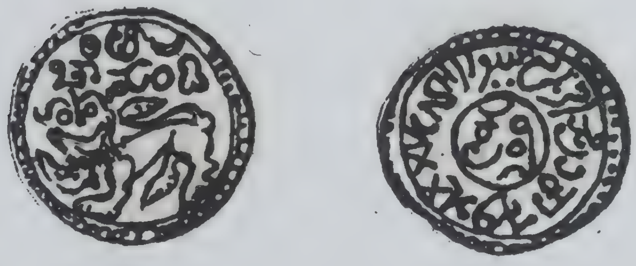
obv: As in type A but the elephant is caparisoned.

rev: As in type A; but the word is written as *CASH* and the entire inscription is within a lined circle with dots.

Type C: This coin measures 1.0" in diameter.

obv: Within a linear circle within dots a standing lion; sun and moon above; Nāgari legend *Śrī Chāmunḍi* above the lion; Persian legend *Zarb i Mahisur* below.

rev: As in type A (with the same mistake) but enclosed within a circle of dots.



Lion type of Mayilikāsu 25 of Krishṇarāja III

Type D: This coin measures 1.0" in diameter.

obv: Lion and the legend *Śrī Chāmunḍi* in Kannaḍa above.

rev: As in type B; but the Persian legend *Zarb i Mahisur* between English and Kannaḍa.[9]

The next denomination in copper is 20 *kāsu.* It can be seen in three types.

Type E: Diameter 0.9".

obv: Elephant; *Śrī* in Kannaḍa above with sun and moon.

rev: Three line legend with horizontal lines; the first two lines are in Kannaḍa

Mayilikā
su yipattu
XX CASH.

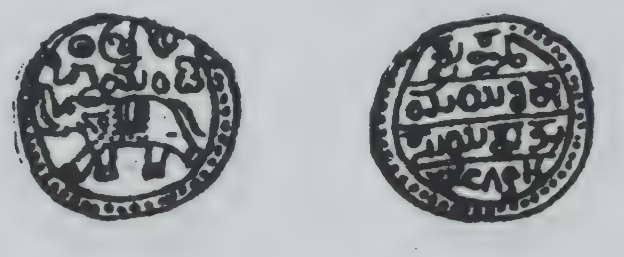
Type F: Diameter 1.0".

obv: Caparisoned and ornamented elephant; Kannaḍa legend *Śrī Chāmunḍi;* sun and moon on sides.

rev: Four line legend with horizontal lines; first three lines in Kannaḍa

Krishṇa
Maylikā
su yipattu
XX CASH.

The full legend enclosed within two linear circles and a circle of dots.



Mayilikāsu 20 of Krishṇarāja III

Type G: Diameter 0.9".

obv: Lion and the legend *Śrī Chāmunḍi* above with sun and moon; below is 1834.[10]

rev: As in type A of 25 *kāsu;* but without the inner circle; below is seen the Persian legend

Zarb i Mahisur. [11]

Type H: Copper coins of twelve and a half *kāsu* in value are also known. They are rare. The diameter of this coin is 0.55".

obv: Within a circle of dots a lion; above is Kannaḍa letter *Śrī* with sun and moon on two sides.

rev: Within a circle of dots legend in three lines; the first and third lines in Kannaḍa and the second line in Persian.

Krishṇa (Kannaḍa)
Zarb i Mahisur (Persian)
12½ (Kannaḍa).[12]

The next copper coin was 10 *Kāsu.* It can be seen in three types.

Type I: Diameter 0.6".

obv: Crude elephant; Kannaḍa letter *Śrī* and sun and moon above.

rev: Three line legend; first two lines in Kannaḍa

Chā Mayili
kāsu 10
X CASH.

Type J: Diameter 0.7".

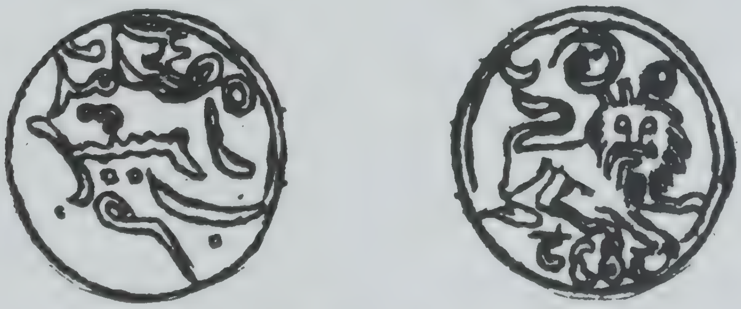
obv: Lion with *Śrī* above with sun and moon.

rev: Within a circle of dots legend *Krishṇa* in Kannaḍa and Persian legend *Zarb i Mahisur* below.

Type K: Diameter 0.7".

obv: As in type B; but contains the date 1835 below.[13]

rev: As in type B.



Copper coin

Type L: Copper coins six and one fourth *kāsu* are also known though they are rare. These coins measure 0.45" in diameter.

obv: Lion and legend *Śrī Chāmuṇḍi* in Kannaḍa with sun and moon above.

rev: Kannaḍa legend *Krishṇa* in the centre; the outer circle consists of the legend *Maylikāsu* 6¼ in Kannaḍa followed by *VI ¼ CASH* in English.

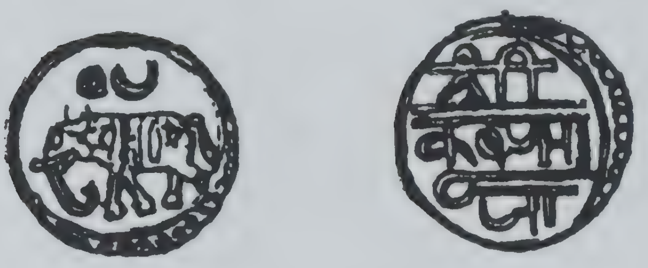
The next copper coin is 5 *Kāsu.* It is seen in seven types.

Type M: Diameter 0.6".

obv: Caparisoned elephant; sun and moon above.

rev: Nāgari legend in three lines

śrī
Krishṇarā
ja



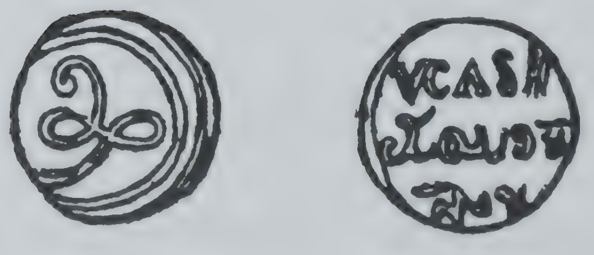
5 Kāsu copper coin

Type N: Diameter 0.6".

obv: Within a circle Kannaḍa letter *Śrī.*

rev: Legend in three lines

V CASH
Mayilika
su 5 (in Kannaḍa).



Mayilikāsu 5 of Krishṇarāja III

Type O: Diameter 0.5".

obv: As in type B.

rev: *Chā Mayilikāsu* 5 in Kannaḍa followed by *V CASH.*

Type P: Diameter 0.6".

obv: As in type A.

rev: Four line legend; first three lines in Kannaḍa.

Krishṇa
Mayili
Kāsu 5
V CASH.

Type Q: Diameter 0.6".

obv: Lion with sun and moon above.

rev: Two line legend; first line in Kannaḍa and the second line in Persian.

Krishṇa
Zarb i Mahisur.

Type R: Diameter 0.6".

obv: As in type E; below is the year 1833.[14]

rev: As in type E followed by the numeral 5.

Type S: Copper coins of the value of 2 *kāsu* were minted after the transfer of the mint from Mysore to Bangalore. These coins measure 0.3" in diameter.

obv: lion with sun and moon above, date 1843 below.[15]

rev: *II CASH* followed by *Kāsu* 2 in Kannaḍa.

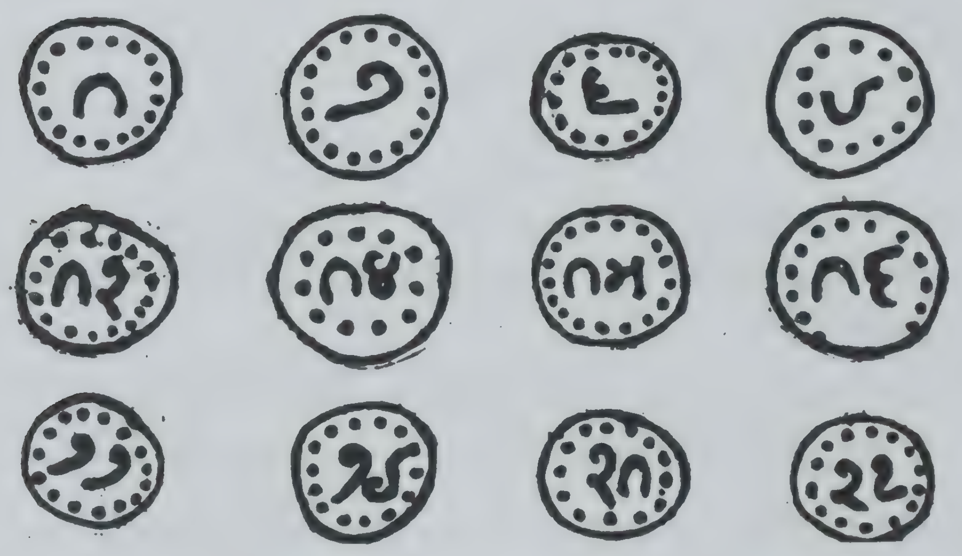
Copper coin of the value of a single *kāsu* has not been discovered. It is not known whether such a coin was minted at all.

Kannaḍa Numeral Coins

Huge quantities of copper coins of a particular type are found in and around Mysore. In fact coin collectors are acquiring these coins by weight from the villages near Mysore and this shows that they were minted in large numbers. Generally these are passed on as late Vijayanagara coins.

These coins range in diameter from 0.4 to 0.6 inch. However, some are slightly bigger measuring upto 0.7". There is a divergence in their thickness also. While majority are 0.15" thick, there are some specimens which are 0.1" thick. Their average weight is 100 grains. Though there are some good specimens many of these coins are crude. In some specimens, part of the obverse and reverse symbols are out of the flan.

The obverse of these coins contain a circle of dots, almost bordering the coin and in the centre is the Kannaḍa numeral or numerals. These numerals range from number 1 to 44. When there is only one numeral it is written in bigger size whereas when there are two numerals, the size is slightly decreased to accommodate two numbers within the circle of dots. The letters are very elegant and artistic and no flaw is visible in writing these numerals.



Kannada numeral coins

The reverse has horizontal and vertical lines intercepting each other. They look like rectangles superimposed one upon the other, or small squares or rectangles one within the other. There are small symbols in these squares and rectangles which can not be identified.

They look like English letters *v, a* and *y.* Generally two to four such symbols are seen on the reverse. But many coins do not contain these symbols at all. All that we can say with definiteness is that these symbols are neither Nāgari nor Kannaḍa letter nor numerals. Thus their significance is not known.

M.H. Krishna who noticed these coins tried to suggest that these coins belonged to Chikkadēvarāja Waḍeyar of the Mysore family.[16] Before discussing the king who issued these coins it is necessary to understand the meaning of the numerals. When the coins with numerals upto 31 were discovered, scholars began searching for a Waḍeyar ruler who ruled for 31 years with the impression that these numerals were the regnal years of the issuer. It has to be noted that these coins are found in and near Mysore and not in Tamilnadu or Andhra or even in Northern parts of Karnataka or Hampi. This makes it clear that these coins could not have been issued by any king of the Vijayanagara dynasty though Kannaḍa numerals are found on them and in typology they resemble Vijayanagara copper coins particularly in shape and fabric and size.

This leaves us with the other option that they should have been the coins of the Mysore Waḍeyar dynasty. As all the coins with different numerals are similar in weight and size, the numerals can not stand for the value of the coin. Then the only other alternative is that the numerals represent regnal years of the king who issued them.

On a perusal of the history of the Waḍeyars of Mysore, it becomes clear that no ruler of this dynasty ruled for 44 years. We may refer to some important kings of this dynasty. Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar I ruled from 1638 to 1659. It was he who began minting the coins of the Mysore Waḍeyar royal family. His copper coins have been discovered along with his gold coins known as *Kanṭhīrāya haṇa* with Lakshmī-Narasimha on the obverse and his name on the reverse. The other important ruler was Chikkadēvarāja Waḍeyar (1673-1704). His copper coins have not been reported so far. Though Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II ruled for 32 years (1734-66), the power of Haidar Ali had considerably increased. Coins of Haidar Ali were in circulation during the period. However, Krishṇarāja's queen Lakshmammaṇṇi kept up the torch of Mysore Waḍeyar family with the help of the Marāṭhas and the British. After the death of Tipu Sultan in 1799, Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III who was only a child of five years was made the king and British Resident was the virtual ruler. Due to certain difficulties and political developments, the British removed Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III from the throne of Mysore in 1831 and for the next fifty years Mysore was under the rule of the Resident. After this came Chāmarāja Waḍeyar IX who began to rule from 1881. In the meantime the mint at Mysore was closed and no Mysore coin was minted thereafter.

The surmise that the Kannaḍa numeral coins were issued by Chikkadēvarāja who ruled for 31 years looked satisfactory till a coin showing number 32 was discovered. So far coins with number upto 44 have been discovered. Then it was thought that Chikkadēvarāja Waḍeyar inaugurated this tradition in which each numeral represented his regnal year and this practice was continued by his successors and that is the reason why we get coins beyond 31 and upto 44. But the question is what was the occasion of Chikkadēvarāja to inaugurate the issue of these coins with regnal years. There was no such important incident during his reign as to warrant the issue of coins with regnal years.

1799 is an important year in the history of Mysore as it was the year in which Tipu Sultan died and Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III was installed as the Mahārāja and Dewan Pūrṇaiah was virtually the ruler under the general control of the British Resident. Hence as the power was restored to the Mahārāja of Mysore in 1799, it is quite likely that Dewan Pūrṇaiah might have thought of issuing the coins with regnal years. But the practice was not stopped in 1831 when Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III lost power (he died only in 1861) but continued mechanically for about twelve years as evidenced by the numeral 44. It has to be noted in this connection that numbers beyond 31 are comparatively rare. This is particularly true of the numbers nearer 40. The reverse of these coins as pointed out earlier contains a chequred pattern of horizontal and vertical lines similar to the coins of many

Muslim dynasties of the Deccan. This shows that there was Muslim influence on the coinage of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III. This is amply demonstrated by the other coins of this king in which Persian legends are used. Kannaḍa numerals are actually used by this ruler on his copper coins to mention the value of the *kāsu.* His copper coin of 25 *cash* contains on the obverse the Kannaḍa numeral 25 and his copper coin of five *cash* contains the Kannaḍa numeral 5 on it. Thus it was Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III who used the Kannaḍa numerals on his copper coins for the first time. The large variety of copper coins of this ruler is bewildering. At least twenty types of his copper coins in different values have been known so far. Thus he was a great innovator in minting copper coins. All these were possible because of the great Dewan Pūrṇaiah who was at the helm of affairs of the Mysore kingdom. Taking all these evidences into consideration the most plausible claimant should be Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III. Restoration of the kingdom to the Waḍeyar was the right occasion to start a new type of coinage.

If these coins are taken to represent the inauguration of the ruler of a particular king, there would be another claimant and that is Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar (1704-14), who was the inaugurator of the coins of Mysore Waḍeyars.[16] Perhaps to mark the great occasion of minting an independent coinage of the Mysore dynasty, this ruler should have minted these Kannaḍa numeral coins. This rules out Chikkadēvarāja Waḍeyar as the issuer of these coins.

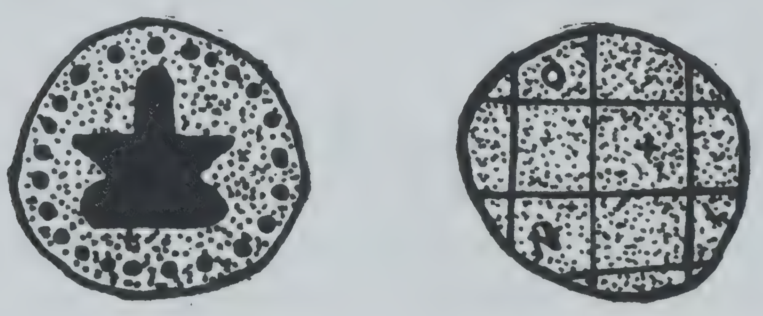
In conclusion, it has to be stated that the circumstantial evidences point out two probable rulers as the issuers of these coins. The first is Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar, the first king of the dynasty to mint coins of this dynasty and the second choice is Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III, the first ruler of the restored Mysore dynasty after Haidar and Tipu. However, the additional evidences mentioned above further narrows down the choice to Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III.[17]

Copper coins with various symbols on the obverse and chequered pattern on the reverse have been found in plenty in and around Mysore. This chequered pattern consisting of horizontal and vertical lines encompassing the entire flan of the coin is similar to the one found on the Kannaḍa numeral coins which have been assigned to Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III. On the same analogy, these coins have also been assigned to the same ruler by Bahusar Vasudeva Rao.[18] It has to be cautioned that this attribution is based entirely on typology as no legends are found on them.

Type A: Weight 2.7 gms; diameter 0.7"

obv: Seated *Gaṇēśa* with a mouse at the bottom
rev: Chequered pattern

Type B: Weight 3.4 gms; diameter 0.6"
obv: Within a circle of dots a *Śivalinga*
rev: Chequered pattern.



Śivalinga type copper coin

Type C: Weight 3.5 gms; diameter 0.6"
obv: *Hanumān* standing to right; tail lifted over
rev: Chequered pattern

Type D: Weight 3.3 gms; diameter 0.6"

obv: Four handed *Chāmuṇḍi* in sitting posture

rev: Chequered pattern.

Type E: Weight 3.6 gms; diameter 0.7"

obv: A sitting *Nandi* within a circle of dots
rev: Chequered pattern

Type F: Weight 3.2 gms; diameter 0.6"

obv: A coiled serpant within a circle of dots

rev: Chequered pattern

Perhaps this was known as *Subbarāya haṇa* or *kāsu.*

Type G: Weight 3.4 gms; diameter 0.6" (smaller type in this variety measures 0.4" in diameter and weighs 2.1 gms)

obv: Standing elephant to right or left with trunk hanging down

rev: Chequered pattern

Type H: Weight 3.4 gms; diameter 0.6"

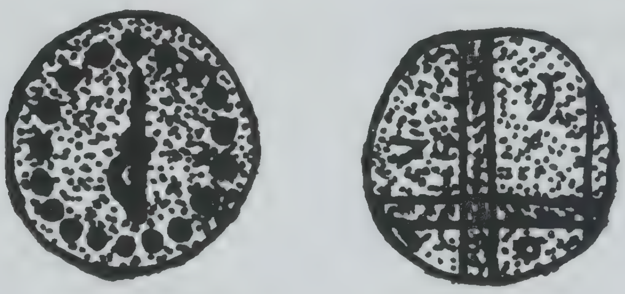
obv: Lion within a circle of dots

rev: Chequered pattern

Type I: Dr. Havalaiah has published a coin; Weight 3.5 gms; size 0.6"[19]

obv: A sword with a hilt

rev: Chequered pattern



Sword type coin

Bahusar Vasudeva Rao has brought to light many similar coins which have the goddess Lakshmī on the obverse.[20]

Type J: Weight 3.1 to 3.6 gms; diameter 0.7"

obv: Four handed Lakshmī seated on a pedestal

rev: Chequered pattern

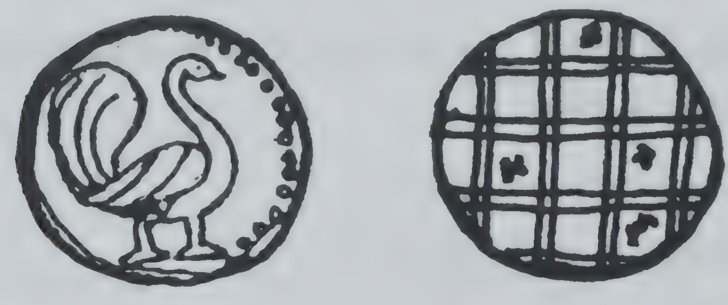
Thus on the basis of the chequered pattern, these uninscribed coins of copper have been assigned to Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III.

On the same basis the following coins have been ascribed to Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III.

Type K:[21] Weight 3.4 gms; diameter 0.6"

obv: Within a circle of dots a peacock to left

rev: Chequered pattern

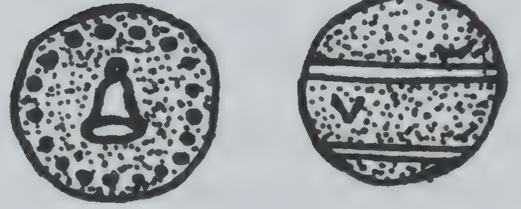


Peacock type copper coin

Type L:[22] Weight 3.2 gms; diameter 0.6"

obv: Within a circle of dots a bell in the centre. Sun and moon on sides.

rev: Two parallel double horizontal lines with some indistinct symbols.

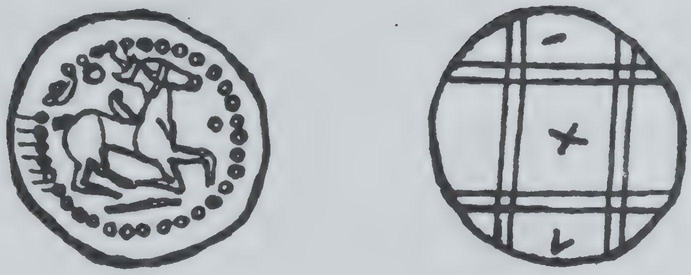


Bell type copper coin

Type M: Weight 3.1 gms.; diameter 0.6"

obv: Prancing horse within a circle of dots.

rev: Chequered pattern



Horse type copper coin

Type N:

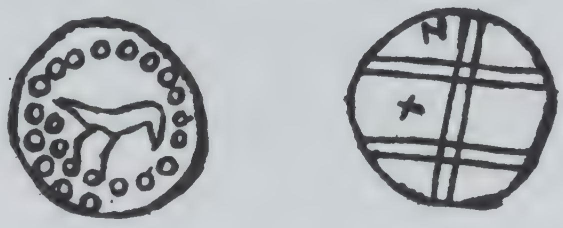
obv: Within a circle of dots, a deer running to left, sun and moon.

rev: Chequered pattern

Type O:

obv: Within a circle of dots a bird

rev: Chequered pattern.

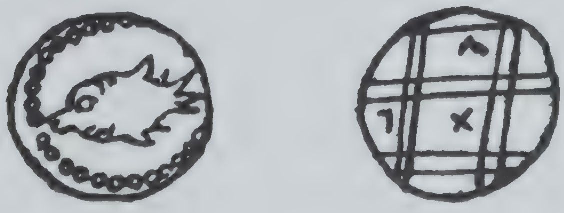


Bird type coin

Type P:

obv: Within a circle of dots fish to the right

rev: Chequered pattern of single cross-lines.



Fish type copper coin

Type Q: Weight 1.5 gms; diameter 0.6"

obv: Within a circle of dots Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa holding elephants in its beaks.

rev: Chequered pattern

Type R: Weight 3.2 gms; diameter 0.6".

obv: Within a circle of dots Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa with elephants in its beaks.

rev: Within circle of dots a Nandi to right.

All these coins, though un-inscribed belong to the same typology of the Kannada numeral coins and are plentily available in and near Mysore. Hence they can easily be ascribed to Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar III.

According to Article 15 of the Instrument of Transfer of 1881, the coinage of the British Government became the legal tender. The article also stated "The separate coinage of the Mysore State, which has long been discontinued, shall not be revived". Thus ended the coinage of Mysore and the glorious tradition of the Hindu coinage inspired by the great rulers of the Vijayanagara empire. Therefore, the British coinage became the legal tender which was superceded by the coinage of the Indian Republic.

REFERENCES

1. *EC,* IV Chamarajanagar 250.
2. *Ibid.,* III, Nanjanagud 124.
3. *Mysore Gazetteer,* I, Appendix, p. 8.
4. *MAR,* 1929, p. 31.
5. These coins have been brought to light by A. Seetharaman of Tanjavur and Kundanmal Jain *SSIC,* VII, p. 125 and 129.
6. Thurston describes this coin as Chāmuṇḍi, *Mysore coins,* p. 28. But the figure is very clear and can easily be identified as Bālakrishṇa.
7. *Diamond Jubilee Souvenir of the Mythic Society,* Bangalore, 1973, p. 38.
8. This is a mistake for *CASH.*

9. The Kannaḍa legend is *Maili and* not *Mayili.*

10. Years 1836 to 1840 and 1843 are known on this type of coin.

11. The word is written as *Milay XX CASH*

12. Half is shown by two vertical strokes.

13. Coins with dates 1838 to 1843 are known in this type.

14. Dates 1835 to 37, 1841 to 42 are seen in this type.

15. Earlier dates like 1839, 1840 and 1841 are known on these coins.

16. *MAR,* 1929, p. 33.

17. Mukunda Prabhu in private correspondence has stated that some Kannaḍa numeral coins in his collection have on the reverse the legend *Krishṇa.* This clinches the issue in favour of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar. Mukunda Prabhu's paper on these coins is eagerly awaited.

18. Bahusar Vasudeva Rao: *Un-inscribed copper coins of the Mysore Waḍeyars* (in press).

19. N. Havalaiah: *A copper coin with chequered pattern* (in press)

20. Bahusar Vasudeva Rao: *Lakshmi type copper coins of the Mysore Waḍeyars* (in press).

21. Bahusar Vasudeva Rao presented a paper on this coin in the Seventh Annual Conference of South Indian Numismatic Society at Trissur, Feb. 1991.

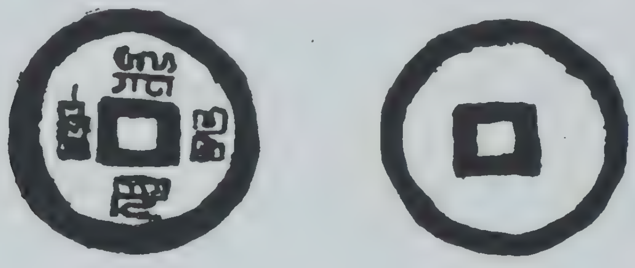
22. N. Havalaiah's paper at the above conference.

CHAPTER XXIII

MISCELLANEOUS COINS

(A) CHINESE COIN AT CHANDRAVAḶḶI

R. Narasimhachar, Director, Mysore Archaeological Department picked up a brass coin in the rain-gullies at the famous historical site Chandravaḷḷi in the year 1909.[1] It is circular in shape with a diameter of 1 inch with a thick circular border all round. It has a square hole, the sides of which measure 0.2". This hole also has square border. The obverse contains four Chinese characters each at the side of the square hole. Its weight is not recorded.



Chinese brass coin

Narasimhachar's preliminary study showed that typologically this coin is similar to the Chinese coins illustrated by Aurel Stein, belonging to eighth century A.D. These kings were Kai-yuan (713-741), Chien-yuan (758-759). But Narasimhachar thought that as this coin was found in one of the stratum of Chandravaḷḷi mound which had yielded Roman and Andhra coins, this Chinese coin could not have been as late as eighth century A.D. Hence he sent the coin to an expert Taw Sein Ko for further study. He gave his opinion that the coin belonged to second century B.C. He further observed "There are four Chinese characters on the coin of which three are very much blurred. The following dates have been suggested 138 B.C., 502 A.D. and 836 A.D. The first appears to be the most appropriate. Most probably, Chinese merchants visited Southern India during that period, and they came from Canton or some other southern part bringing with them Chinese brass coins of low value. It is on record that, during the early centuries of the Christian era, there was a brisk commerce carried on between China and Southern India and Ceylon".[2] Though a fresh study of this Chinese coin is desirable, for the present it may be taken as an ancient coin as it tallies appropriately with the antiquities found at Chandravaḷḷi. Thus it is an important ancient foreign coin found in Karnataka.

(B) GREEK COPPER COIN

Though hundreds of Roman coins are found in Karnataka, not even a single Greek coin had been reported from Karnataka. But the people of Karnataka were familiar with the term *Dramma* derived from Greek *Drachma.* Many epigraphs refer to the term *Drachma* while *Gaṇita Chandrikā* and *Vaḍḍārādhane* refer to *Lohadramma*[3] and *Kaḷḷadramma*[4].

Recently R. Gopal reported a copper coin found at Hassan.[5] Its weight 16.32 gms: diameter 2.8 cm; thickness 2 mms.

obv: Within a circle of dots the bust of Alexander

rev: Seated Athena: legend

BASLLEOS
LYSIMACHOS

From the legend it becomes clear that this was issued by Lysimachos who was a General under Alexander. As the provenance is not known properly, this coin should not be taken as having any significance.

(C) WESTERN KSHATRAPA COINS

A hoard of 61 silver coins belonging to Western Kshatrapa rulers was found at Tīrthahaḷḷi in Shimoga district. It was first published by M. Seshadri.[6] Subsequently realising their importance, P.L. Gupta published them with better identification.[7] The Western Kshatrapa kings represented in this hoard are Dāmasēna (223-236 A.D.), Vīradāman (234-238 A.D), Īśvaradatta (236- 239 A.D), Vijayasēna (238-250 A.D), son of Dāmasēna, Rudrasēna II (255-276 A.D), Viśvasimha (277-278 A.D), Bhartridāman (279-295), Viśvasēna (294-304 A.D), son of Rudrasēna, Rudrasimha II (305-315 A.D) and Yaśōdāman (317-332 A.D.). Only one coin could not be assigned to any particular king.

All the coins measure 1.4 or 1.5 cms in diameter. Their weight ranges from 1.75 gms to 2.43 gms. Perhaps three weights can be recognised as 1.75, 2.0 and 2.5 gms, though majority of them are in between these weights like 1.85, 2.15 etc. All the coins belong to the general pattern of the Western Kshatrapa coins containing the portrait, date, legend and some symbols. It is proposed to give the full description of one coin of each of the kings represented here.

Dāmasēna:

obv: King's head to right, date 150 behind;

rev: Hill mark; star and crescent; Brāhmi legend *rājnō mahākshatrapasa Rudrasimha putrasa rājnō mahākshatrapasa Dāmasēnasa*

Vīradaman:

obv: King's head; date not clear

rev: As above; legend *rājnō mahākshatrapa .... putrasa rājnō Kshatrapasa Vīradāmnaḥ.*

Īśvaradatta:

obv: As above: (date 164, 167).

rev: As above: legend *rājnō mahākshatrapasa Īśvaradattasa Varshe Prathamē.*

Vijayasēna:

obv: As above

rev: As above; legend *rājnō mahākshatrapasa Dāmasēna putrasa rājnō mahākshatrapasa Vijayasēnasa*

Son of Dāmasēna:

obv: As above; date not written
rev: Legend *rājnō mahākshatrapasa Dāmasēna putrasa*

Rudrasēna II

obv: As above, date 189
rev: As above; legend *rājnō Kshatrapasa putrasa rājnō mahākshatrapasa Rudrasēnasa*

Viśvasimha:

obv: As above; date not clear
rev: As above; legend *rājnō mahākshatrapasa Rudrasēna putrasa rājnaḥ kshatrapasa Viśvasīhasa*

Bhartridāman:

obv: As above, (date 200 ?)
rev: As above; legend *rājnō mahākshatrapa Bhatṛidāmnaḥ*

Viśvasēna:

obv: As above (date not clear)
rev: As above; legend *rājnō mahākshatrapasa Viśvasēnasa*

Son of Rudrasēna:

obv: As above; date not clear
rev: As above; legend *rājnō mahākshatrapasa Dāmasēna putrasa*

Rudrasimha II:

obv: As above; date not clear
rev: As above; legend *Svāmijīvadāma putrasa rājnaḥ Kshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa*

Yaśōdāman:

obv: As above; 244

rev: As above; legend *rājnō Kshatrapasa Rudrasīha putrasa rājnō Kshatrapasa Yaśōdāmna*

This hoard is important from many points of view. Firstly it shows that there was a regular flow of Western Kshatrapa coins into Deccan up to Karnataka. As P.L. Gupta has remarked the find of coins of Īśvaradatta along with the coins of others Western Kshatrapa kings shows "that they were current not only in the vicinity of their origin but were so much intermingled with the Western Kshatrapa coins that they could travel as far as Karnataka.[8]

P.L. Gupta has identified one of these coins as a brockage and describes it as follows. It "means those coins that have only one side the positive impression of a die, and the other side bears an incuse impression of the same die. This phenomenon occurs due to the lifting up of a normal coin along with the die, after it has been struck. In the next downward stroke of the die, the coin that was struck with it and lifted up, acts as the striking die and stamps the next blank flan with an incuse bearing the impression of the anvil-die and the upper side has the incuse impression of the same die .... In the Western Kshatrapa coin-series, brockage is a frequent phenomenon, reason of which is not known. The present brockage bears the impressions of the obverse die. On it the symbol of or the date, behind the head appears as 200 with the other two symbols for the digit and the unit are not available. This, however, fairly indicates that it was related to Bhartridāman or Viśvasēna. Possibility of its being related to Rudrasimha II or Yaśōdāman is also there; but the chances are remote"[9] Thus the Tīrthahaḷḷi hoard is a unique and important one.

(D) CHŌḶA COINS IN KARNATAKA

During eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Chōḷas established their kingdom in parts of Kolar, Mandya, Bangalore and Mysore districts. However, their contact began much earlier, in the ninth century. The effective control over the parts of Karnataka was established by Rāja Rāja, the great. The Kongāḷvas of Koḍagu not only became Chōḷa subordinates but even associated the names of the Chōḷa monarchs with their own. With the decline of the Gangas of Talakāḍ, the Chōḷas strengthened their hold on this area. The Chōḷas fought against the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa but did not achieve great success. But in 1116 A.D. Hoysaḷa Vishṇuvardhana defeated the Chōḷas and assumed the title *Taḷakāḍugoṇḍa* and commemorated this victory by minting gold coins with this title as the legend on the obverse. After the death of Kulōttunga, Vikrama Chōḷa was in command of the area round about Kolar till about 1153 A.D. By this time the Chōḷas declined and by 1200 A.D., the Chōḷas were out of Karnataka.

The Chōḷas used for circulation their own coins in Karnataka also. They also issued inscriptions in Tamil language and tried to *Chōḷanise* the parts of Karnataka by building Chōḷa style temples and even re-organising the administrative set up in these parts. Hence Chōḷa coins have been found in some parts of Karnataka. Their Tamil inscriptions also contain many coin-terms and throw light on the coinage of the period. Another important area in which the Chōḷa impact was felt is seen in the field of coinage. Their successors, the Hoysaḷas did not follow the Chālukyan pattern either in weight standard or typology. The later Chālukyan coins follow the punch technique whereas the Hoysaḷas used die striking technique. On the model of Chōḷa coins, Vishṇuvardhana began issuing coins with titles on them.

The Chōḷa epigraphs found in Karnataka mention the names of the coins such as *māḍa* or *māḍai.* In fact this coin was not used in Karnataka either before or after. Its equivalent in Karnataka was *gadyāṇa.* Only Tamil and Telugu inscriptions mention the term *māḍa.* Chōḷa inscriptions also mention the terms *pon, kaḷanju, manjāḍi* and *kāsu* in various transactions.[10]

Associating the names of the Chōḷa kings with the *māḍai* is found in these inscriptions. Thus inscriptions found in Karnataka mention *Rāja Rājan māḍai, Kulōttunga māḍai, Muḍigonḍaśolan māḍai* etc. An epigraph from Chamarajanagar mentions twenty *Antiyakābaraṇan māḍai,* the meaning of which is not clear.[11]

The word *paḷangāsu* occurs in many inscriptions. It is taken as old *kāsu* meaning, a coin of the previous period. It is of great interest to note that the term *paḷangāsu* attracted the attention of many Kannaḍa poets.[12] It is found mentioned in *Pampa Bhārata,* Ranna's *Ajitapurāṇa, Līlāvati Prabandha* by Nēmichandra and *Rasaratnākara* of Sāḷuva. All of them describe the shining fineness and purity of the gold coin, *paḷangāsu.* From this it becomes clear that though the coins were old, their intrinsic value did not decrease. On the other hand they were more prized possessions as compared to the current coins.

The inscriptions also mention the terms *narkāsu* and *anrāḍu narkāsu* which are obviously the current coins. The term *anrāḍu naḍakkum nar paḷangāsu* refers to a good and current old coin. It shows that even though a coin was old it was good and current and accepted in all transactions. Thus the Chōḷa epigraphs throw welcome light on the problem of old and new coins.

M.H. Krishna has described the following coins of the Chōḷa kings found in Karnataka. Typologically they do not show any uniqueness of the area of provenance, thereby making it clear that the Chōḷas brought into circulation their usual coins here also.[13]

As these coins are well known types.[14] They are listed below:

Uttama Choḷa:

(a) Tiger and Fish type
(b) Tiger, fish and Grantha legend

Rāja Rāja I:

(a) Tiger and fish and king seated
(b) King standing
(c) *'Lankavīra'* type

(d) Boar and Tamil legend
(e) Boar with umbrella
(f) *Muraḷīdhara* Krishṇa
(g) Horseman type
(h) Prancing horse
(i) King and god's foot
(j) Seated king on both sides

Rājēndra I:

(a) Tiger and fish
(b) Tiger, fish and legend *Rājēndra*

Kulōttunga I:

(a) Standing king with Tamil legend

Vikrama Choḷa:

(a) Standing bull

Rājādhirāja II:

(a) Bull and conch

(E) COINS OF SURAPURA NĀYAKAS

Surapura in Gulbarga district has an antiquity going back to the medieval period. The heroes called Nāyakas who belonged to the *bēda* (hunter) community were in the service of Rāmanātha of Kampili. Even Chāndbībi is said to have received help from these Nāyakas. After the fall of the Vijayanagara they became the subordinates of the sultans of Bijapur. When Aurangazeb occupied Vāgaṇageri, they built a strong fort Surapura. Impressed by the valour and heroism of these Nāyakas, Aurangazeb returned all their privileges. Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan tried in vain to get the support of these chiefs. After the death of Enkappa Nāyaka, Krishṇa Nāyaka had to face financial difficulties. After the death of the latter, Medows Taylor was appointed political Agent of this state, as Venkaṭappa Nāyaka was still a boy.

When he became strong, he disregarded the Company and began negotiations against the British. Having come to know of these activities British attacked Surapura under Captain Windeham. With the treachery of Bhima Rao, Venkaṭappa Nāyaka was taken prisoner and tried for anti-British activities. First, he was given death sentence, but due to the intervention of Taylor, it was reduced to life imprisonment. While being taken to the jail, Venkaṭappa Nāyaka snatched a revolver and shot himself to death at a young age of 24. In 1861, Surapura was annexed to the dominion of Nizam. Thus in the history of Karnataka, the Nāyakas of Surapura have become famous for their heroism and valour.

But the coins of this family had not been recognised. Though Valentine had ascribed some copper coins to these rulers, more than half a century ago, it does not seem to have attracted the attention of the numismatists, till recently. Amjad Ali, however, ascribed some coins with the Nāgari legend *Bahirī* to the kings of Wanaparthi in Mahaboobnagar district.[15] These coins came to be called *Bahirī* coins. But two year later C.K. Panish questioned the attribution of Amjad Ali and attributed these coins to Venkaṭappa Nāyaka of Surapara (Shorapur).[16] He based his arguments on the strength of Valentine. While publishing this paper, the learned editor P.L. Gupta accepted the opinions of Valentine and C.K. Panish in an editorial note.[17] But Amjad Ali put some more arguments to prove his point which included among others, lack of evidence for the existence of a mint in Surapura and the word *Bahirī* is more popular in Wanaparthi State.[18] But P.L. Gupta, this time too, did not accept the arguments of Amjad Ali. He further pointed out that the provenance is equally important as no *Bahirī* coin has been reported from Wanaparthi and these coins are popular among the coin collectors as Shorapur (Surapur) coins.

Thus he concluded that these coins were the issues of Rāja Venkaṭappa Nāyaka of Surapura.[19]

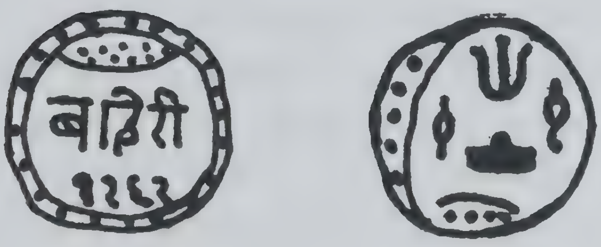
The coins may be described now. They are copper coins weighing 10 gms and measure 1.7 cms in diameter. Three types may be distinguished as dated, undated and un-inscribed.

Type A: Dated Coins-Inscribed

obv: Two concentric linear circles within which is a circle of dots;

Nāgari legend *Bahirī* numeral 1262

rev: Vaishṇava caste mark *(nāma)* with *śankha* and *chakra* on either side with some symbols.



Copper coin of Venkaṭappa Nāyaka

Type B

obv: As in type A but no date

rev: As in type A.

Type C: un-inscribed

obv: As in type A: without date and without legend

rev: As in type A.

This title *Bahirī* was shared by many of the families including the Surapura chiefs. The date 1262 is obviously *Hijri* date and it corresponds to the period of Rāja Venkaṭappa Nāyaka. He was the most celebrated chief of his family. From all these evidences it becomes clear that the so called *Bahirī* coins are the issues of Surapura Chief.

(F) RUPEES OF NAWAB OF KALYĀṆA

Kalyāṇa, also referred to as Kalyāṇi was a glarious capital of the Chālukyas as well as the Kalacharis in the early medieval period. Its beauty has been described in many inscriptions as well as literary works. But later it lost its importance and remained as a small village for over five centuries. It became a part of the Asaf Jahi kingdom. In the year 1772 A.D. it was given as a *jāgīr* to Nawab Syed Ibrahim Husain Mir Kala Khan II during his marriage with the daughter of Asaf Jah I. From then onwards it became important as a semi-independent kingdom till it was merged with the Indian union in 1950.

These Nawabs minted the rupee coins from the mint located at Kalyāṇa. The mint here was in operation from 1787 A.D., as known from a *firman* of Asaf Jah II. M. Amjad Ali, the veteran numismatist has been able to recognise some *rupee* coins minted at Kalyāṇi and has published a note on them.[20] It is said that there was a street in Kalyāṇa, known as *Ṭankasāle galli* meaning mint street.

As the rupee coins found here belong to Nawab Syed Mohammad Shah Khairuddin, it has been argued that this mint was in operation only during his rule. It is also possible that the coins of the other kings have not been discovered so far.

These circular silver coins weighing 11 grains contain *Kalima* on the obverse. The reverse contains the letter *khe,* the initial letter of Khairuddin with dates. Below is a tiger along with the name of the mint. While some coins have the date above the name of the mint, others have the date written in front of the tiger. These coins show a good influence of the Asaf Jahi coinage. So far a small number of these coins have been found and they contain the dates A.H. 1212, A.H. 1221 and A.H. 1226. The presence of the tiger on these coins in interesting. It is said that there was a Sufi saint known as Hazarat

Rāja Bāgh-Savār (tiger riding) Tajuddin and Khairuddin portrayed tiger to show reverence to this saint. Thus these rupee coins are interesting.

K.W. Wiggin has brought to light a fractional rupee of this mint.[21] Actually it is one eighth of a silver rupee. Its weight is 1.49 gms has a diameter of 12 mms. The obverse has the *Kalima.* The reverse has the tiger and some letters and the date. This is a good addition to the rupee of Kalyāṇa.

(G) MALHĀRSHĀHI RUPEE OF BĀGALKŌṬ MINT

Bāgalkōṭ in Bijapur district had the distinction of being a mint town from the time of Adil Shahi kings of Bijapur. In the political turmoil in which this area found itself between the Mughals and the Marāṭhas, the place came under Marāṭha Malhar Rao in 1757 A.D. He established a mint here which minted his own silver Rupee coins famous as Malhārshāhi Rupee. In fact this mint was entrusted to a contractor under the strict vigilence and control of the government.

James Prinsep had noticed, these coins but had ascribed them to Malhār Rao Holkar of Indore, on the similarity of names rather taking the names of the mint into consideration. However. C.K. Panish has correctly identified these Rupees and this note has been based upon his research.[22]

Malhārshāhi Rupee was basically a forgery as it is an unauthorised copy of the Shahajanabad Rupee of Alamgir II. When the area came under the British, Nisbet, the collector of Dharwad became the controller of all the mints in the area including the mint at Bagalkot. He insisted on the inclusion of the date 1819 A.D., on the Malhārshāhi coinage as this date marked the East India company Treaty with the king of Satara. In 1833 A.D., the Bāgalkōṭ mint was ordered to be closed and thereafter the Malhārshāhi coinage was withdrawn from circulation. The Ghorpades of Mudhol also began issuing similar coins with the date 1819. But their Rupee coins contain 16% less of silver. Thus they can be distinguished on the basis of the fineness of the silver content. It is also known that unauthorised copies of the Malhārshāhi Rupee were minted from Sholapur also.

The Malhārshāhi Rupee weighed 172 grains. It was nominally divided as follows:

1 *Rupee* = 11 *Māsha*
1 *Māsha* = 8 *Gunjis*
1 *Gunji* = 16 *Annas*

The purity of silver was maintained at 0.9247. The name of Bāgalkōṭ is a written as *Bāgalkōṭ* on the early coins. The coins also contain other names like Bijapur, Iphapi, Rahpak etc. On some of the coins, the date is out of the flan. Various dates such as A.H. 1171, 1173, 1179, 1181, have been found on these coins. The obverse and reverse contain legends. The calligraphy is also astistic.

(H) COPPER COINS FROM MUDGAL

Mudgal in Lingasugur taluk of Raichur district is an important historical place. Epigraphs have been found here from the time of the Sēvuṇas of Dēvagiri. In fact it was an outpost on the boundary of the Kākatīya kingdom. After defeating the Sēvuṇas, Malik Naib annexed Mudgal to his kingdom. Many wars were fought here between the rulers of Vijayanagara and the Bahmani Sultans and was thus changing hands. Then it went into the hands of the Adil Shahi rulers. The main attraction of Mudgal is the fort which is famous not only for its strength but also for its architecture. A folk story popular in this area describes a beautiful damsel of a jeweller as responsible for hostilities between Dēvarāya and Bahmani Firoz Shah. Finally she was married to Hasan Khan Bahmani. By 1685 A.D., this place was annexed to the Mughal empire under Aurangazeb.

Some copper coins belonging to this place were acquired by Rāja Reddi and he has published them, with good photographs.[23] On a minute study he has divided them into five groups on the basis of the symbols. Their diameter varies from 17 to 19 mms; They are found in the weights of 6.67, 7.39, 8.05 9.38 and 11.75 gms. The most important character of these coins is a leaf-like pattern which in all probability is a *Mehrabi*, with dots within. These dots range from 9 to 13 in number. Their significance is not known. All the coins contain legends partly seen on the flan. On some coins the obverse has the legend *Zarb Mudkal ast;* the reverse has the leaf mark and the date 1098 A.H. On some coins the word *Badshah* is seen on the obverse while the reverse has the word *Julus.* On the basis of these words which are found on the Mughal coins, Raja Reddi thinks that they may be Mughal issues when Mudgal was under them. As Aurangazeb is known to have issued coins from Bijapur, Gulbarga, Sholapur etc, he might have issued these coins from Mudgal. However, he also feels that these coins do not follow the general pattern of Mughal coins and also follow a different fabric. Hence it is quite likely that these copper coins were issued by some local chiefs or *Sarafs* when there was political uncertainty and confusion. Perhaps some more coins with better identification marks if found in future will be able to throw light on the identification of these copper coins. Till then we have to be content with the information that they were issued from the mint in Mudgal.

(I) MUGHAL COINS IN KARNATAKA

Though Mughals founded their kingdom in 1526 A.D., they did not show any active interest in Karnataka for sometime more.[24] The Sultans of Bijapur agreed to pay tribute to Jahangir in 1621. As they became defaulters, Shah Jahan invaded Bijapur in 1636 A.D., and a treaty was concluded by which the Sultan of Bijapur agreed to pay annual tribute of twenty lakh rupees. In the meantime, a Golkonda general by name Mir Jumla was given these areas as a *Jāgīr.* Aurangazeb who was in charge of the Southern kingdoms along with Mir Jumla invaded Bijapur again in 1657. The Sultan of Bijapur accepted the overlordship of the Mughals and handed over Bidar, Kalyāṇa, Konkaṇa and some other forts to the Mughals. In the meantime Aurangazeb went to Delhi to concentrate on affairs at the capital. By 1686 A.D. Bijapur was completely under the Mughals, and many parts of northern Karnataka came under the Mughals. As Mysore Waḍeyars were not strong enough to oppose the Mughals, parts of southern Karnataka, Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur districts came under the direct control of Aurangazeb. Because of the hostility of the Marāṭhas, the Mughals could not establish their hold on parts of Karnataka permanently.

Chikkadēvarāja Waḍeyar of Mysore, however, maintained friendly relationship with the Mughals and received the title *Rāja Jagadēva* from Aurangazeb. For the sake of proper administration a *Faujudar* was appointed with divisions of Bijāpur, Sirā and Savaṇūr in Karnataka, and they were under the Nawab of Arcot. Sirā was further divided into seven *pargaṇas,* with headquarters at Sirā, Hosakōṭe, Basavāpaṭṭaṇa, Būdhihāḷ, Penukonḍa, Doḍḍabaḷḷāpura and Kolār under the first *Faujudar* Kasim Khan. It also included Harapanahaḷḷi, Anegundi, Konḍarpi, Bednur, Chitradurga and Mysore as tributary states. After the fall of Bijapur, the governor Abdul Rahush received Bankapura, Azamnagar, Belgaum as *Jāgīr* with headquarters at Savaṇūr. For the collection of revenue he appointed officers at Navalgunda, Śirahaṭṭi, Hāvanūru, Ḍambaḷa and other places.

After the death of Aurangazeb, many of the areas of northern Karnataka came under the Marāṭhas. The Mughal governors also showed a tendancy to become independent. From all these reasons, the Mughals lost hold on their administration in Karnataka.

But during the period of their rule, the Mughals established many mints and began minting Mughal coins with suitable changes. Many hoards of Mughal coins of the area have been discovered in different parts of Karnataka. Their coins have not been studied properly by historians. However, an excellent essay written by Sohanlal Sisodiya on this topic is of great help in understanding the Mughal coinage of Southern Karnataka, and this has been made use of here.[25]

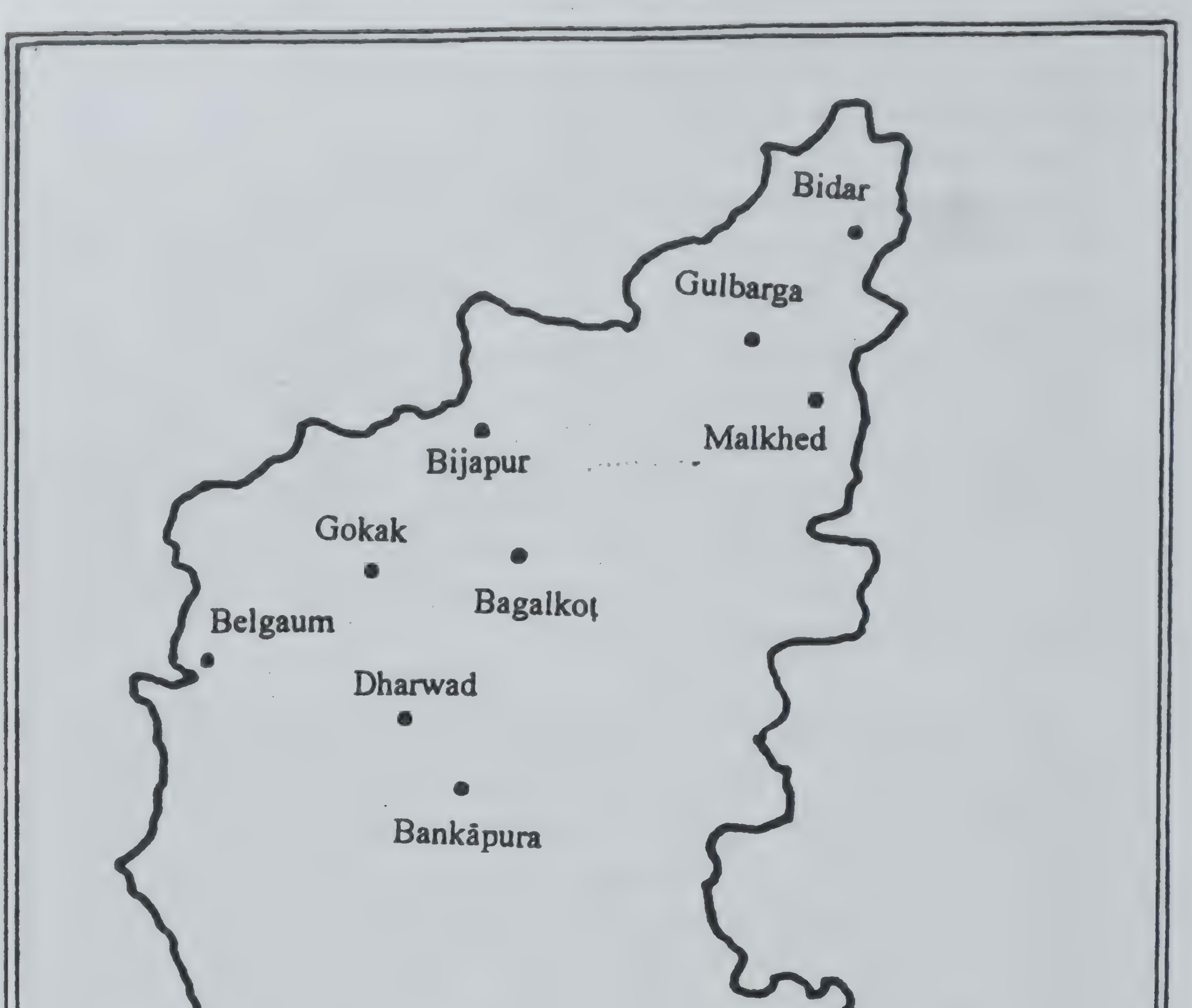
A large number of Mughal mints were identified first by R.B. Whitehead in 1912.[26] Later Taylor added some more new mints.[27] Subsequently C.R. Singhal listed the new mints and the coins minted there. This has been used here particularly with regard to north Karnataka Mughal mints.[28]

As already pointed out, Sirā in Tumkur district became the capital of a Mughal province comprising of seven *parganas.* This was administered by *Subedars* from 1686 to 1757 A.D in which year it was occupied by the Marāṭhas. The Mughals had established a mint at Sirā and the coins minted here were known as *Sirāhi faṇam.* Such coins have come to light. They contain the legend *Alamgir Badshah, Zarb Sirah* and date. Obviously these are the coins minted by Aurangazeb. It is also opined that some coins of Aurangazeb which contain the mint name Karnataka are also minted at Sirā. Thus Sirā was an active Mughal mint in Karnataka.

Kolar was under the *Subedar* of Sirā during the period of Aurangazeb. Sisodiya has identified twelve coins minted at Kolar as the mint name Kolar is fully or partly seen on these coins. They belong to Shah Alam, Farrukshiyar, Shah Jahan, Muhammad Shah, Alamgir II, Madhava Rao in the name of Muhammad Shah and Haidar Ali. The reverse of there coins contain the legend *Kolar* or *Zarb Kolar,* with or without the word *Sanh.*

Mughal coins were minted at Doḍḍabaḷḷāpur and Chikkabaḷḷāpur but it is difficult to seperate them. It has been pointed out that the full name *Balapur* stands for Doḍḍabaḷḷāpur and simply *Bala* stands for Chikkabaḷḷāpur. Some coins belonging to the Mughal period have been found here, but they cannot be ascribed to any particular ruler because of the unintelligible legends. However, they make it clear that both Doḍḍabaḷḷāpur and Chikkabaḷḷāpur had mints of the Mughal period.

Another mint was located at Hosakoṭe, 25 Kms to the east-north-east of Bangalore. The *faṇams* minted here with the mint name *Hosakōṭ* have been found. Of them one belongs to Shah Alam I and two others to Muhammad Shah. The reverse of the latter coins contain the legend *Zerb Hosako(ṭ).*


Bidar
Gulbarga
Malkhed
Bijapur
Gokak
Bagalkoṭ
Belgaum
Dharwad
Bankāpura
Nagar
Sira
Muḷabāgal
Chikkaballāpura
Doḍḍaballāpura
Hosakoṭe
BANGALORE
Kolar
Hosur
MYSORE

MUGHAL MINTS IN KARNATAKA

Hosur in Chitradugra district had another mint of the Mughal period. A coin minted here belonging to Ahmad Shah has been discovered. Obverse contains the legend *Ahmad Shah* and the reverse has the legend *Hosur Sann.*

Muḷabāgal in Kolar district was another mint town during the period. In earlier inscriptions, the place name has been Sanskritised as Kanṭakadvāra (*muḷḷu-kanṭaka* and *bāgilu-dvāra*). But actually it was *mūḍalabāgilu* meaning eastern entrance. A *faṇam* of Muhammad Shah has been found here. It is 0.6 cm in diameter and has the legend *Muhammad Shah* on the obverse and *Mulabagal* on the reverse.

Most of the *faṇams* minted in these places approximately weigh 5.3 grains and their diameter varies from 0.5 grains and their diameter varies from 0.5 to 0.66 cm. However, most of them are near 0.66 cm. They are one tenth of a *pagoda.* These *faṇams* are rarely found, because of their minute size and small weight.

Dhārwaḍ was another mint during the period. It was under the Adil Shahi rulers and was subsequently conquered by the Mughals. it was under the Mughal rule between 1686-1720 A.D. During this period it was administered by Abdul Rahuf. He later changed his capital to Sāvaṇūr. During this period the *Desai* were ruling Navalagunda, Śirahaṭṭi, Hāvanūr, Ḍambaḷ etc. After the death of Aurangazeb, the Marāṭhas became more powerful. During this period the Nawabs of Savaṇūr became powerful. Tipu also invaded this place and finally it came under the Marāṭhas.

The mint at Dharwaḍ was called Nushratabad. A *muhar* of this mint bearing the year 1119-1 A.H is known from this mint. A gold coin of Aurangazeb bearing the date 1114-46 A.H is also known. A few silver rupee of Aurangazeb and some of his successors were also minted here. Actually prince Muazzam, Aurangazeb's son took Hubli and Dharwaḍ in 1685 A.D. Hence it was very active during the period. A more detailed study of this mint is necessary to understand the history of Mughal coins in Karnataka.

Bijapur, a prosperous city minted many issues of the Mughals. A silver rupee belonging to the first year of Farrukhsiyar's rule has been noticed here. Actually gold and silver coins of his predecessors are also minted. The mint at this place was closed after Farrukhsiyar because after the death of Kam Bakhsh it came under the rule of the emperor's governor at Hyderabad. Further two famines caused great misery to the normal life of the place. But it was very active during its heydays. In addition to the coins of Aurangazeb, the coins of Shah Alam (silver and copper), Jahandar Shah (silver and copper), and Farrukhsiyar (gold and silver) are known to have been minted here.

Bankāpura was another important mint-town of the period. The place is located in Shiggaon taluk of Dharwad district. It is said that this name was due to Bankeya, a feudatory of Rāshṭrakūṭa Nripatunga. In the medieval period there used to be fights between kings of Vijayanagara and the Bahmanis. In the sixteenth century Bijapur general Mustafakhan occupied it, and then passed into the hands of the Mughals. Subsequently Savaṇūr Nawab became the chief of this province. Thus it was an important town of a significant division. A silver rupee of this mint dated 1131 A.H. is known. It was issued by Rafiud-Darjat. In addition coins minted here belong to Muhammad Shah, Aurangazeb, Shah Alam I and Farrukshiyar.

Gulbarga was another mint-town of the Mughals. It came under the Sultans during the invasion of Mahammad-bin-Tughalak. Later it was divided among the Bahmani, Adil Shahi and Barid Shahi Sultans. It came under the Mughals with the southern invasion of Aurangazeb, and Asaf Jah became its *Subedar.* Finally it lead to the foundation of Nizam Shahi kingdom. Gold, silver and copper coins of Aurangazeb were minted here. In addition, the gold coins of Jahandar Shah were also minted here.

Maḷkheḍ (Mānyakhēṭa) in Sedam taluk of Gulbarga district was the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. During the medieval period, it came under the Muslims and a strong fort by name Muzafarkila was built here. The name of this place as given in the Mughal records is Kānkurtī. It was also referred to as *Muzaffarnagar.* Silver rupees of

Farrukhsiyar, and silver coins bearing the date 1132 A.H (1719 A.D.) were also minted here.

Muhammadābād or Bidar is a well known place in Karnataka. In the ancient period, it was under the Chālukyas and later it came under the Kākatīya rule. Its medieval history starts from the invasion of Mahammad-bin-Tughlak. Later it was in the hands of the Bahmani, Adil Shahi and Barid Shahi Sultans. Aurangazeb invaded this place in 1656 A.D., and annexed it to Mughal empire. During this period it was also known as *Jāfarābad* and ruled by Mughal *Subedars.* Subsequently it came to be a part of Nizam Shahi kingdom. Gold and silver coins of Aurangazeb and Shah Alam I are known from this mint. A *muhar* of this mint with the date *Ahd* has been found.

This place was also known as *Zafārābād.* Two copper coins of Aurangazeb of this mint are known. They have no date and weigh 320 grains. The other copper coin of this mint has the date *Ahd* and weighs 125 grains. Gold and silver coins of Aurangazeb were minted with the name *Zafāraābād* on them and they are well known.

Belgaum, referred to as *Mustafābād* had a Mughal mint. There is a controversy regarding the identification of *Mustafābād* with Belgaum. But many scholars have agreed with this identification. In 1686 A.D., the Adil Shahi Sultans were defeated and Mughals drove the Marāṭhas also (except Hukeri) and the rest of the area became a part of the Mughal empire. Abdul Rauf Khan entered into Mughal service with the title Dilawar Khan Bahadur Jung and became the *Mansubdar* of the entire area. It was called *Mustafābād,* in memory of a commandant or *Killedār* named Mustafa. Gold and silver coins of Aurangazeb from this mint are known.

Haidarnagar or Nagar also known as Bednur had a mint. It was called by that name after Haidar. A coin with the date 1180-7 A.H (1766 A.D) minted here has been known.

Gōkāk in Belgaum district attained importance during the period of the Adil Shahi Sultans. It later became a part of the Mughal empire and subsequently was included in the kingdom of the Nawab of Savaṇūr. A silver rupee now in the Punjab Museum, belonging to Muhammad Shah shows the name of the mint as *Azamnagar Gōkāk.* The name of this mint is given on the coins as *Āzamnagar,* or *Āzamnagar Gōkāk* or simply *Gōkāk.* Silver rupees of Aurangazeb, Kam Bakhsh, Shah Alam I, Farrukhshiyar and Muhammad Shah are known from this mint. Lucknow Museum has many of these coins. The silver rupee of Shah Alam was issued during his fourth regnal year. Some of the silver coins have the mint name as *Āzamnagar Gokulgarh* which is the same as Gōkāk.

A large number of Mughal coins have mint names which have not been identified properly. It is quite likely that many more Mughal mints existed in Karnataka, particularly in northern Karnataka, which have not been identified properly. This is a good field for further investigation.

(J) VENETIAN COINS

South India had cultural and trade relations with many western countries right from the early centuries of the Christian era. These relations continued even into the medieval periods with some countries. This is attested to by many foreign travellers who have recorded their impressions of this part of the country. Foremost among such travellers is Marcopolo, famous as the prince among the foreign travellers. In addition, there are other travellers like Manucci, Bernier, Barbosa, Boschi etc. From the writing of these travellers it becomes clear that South India, including Karnataka traded with Italy. The merchandise generally included semi-precious stones, musk, spices, cotton, sick, peacock, sandal wood and such other commodities.

As compared to Tamilnadu, the discovery of Venetian coins are far less, in Karnataka. At Gulbarga was discovered a hoard of 708 gold coins. The hoard consisted of gold coins of Bahmani Sultans as well as Venetian coins. This hoard has been studied by D.V.Devaraj and this has been made use of here.[29]

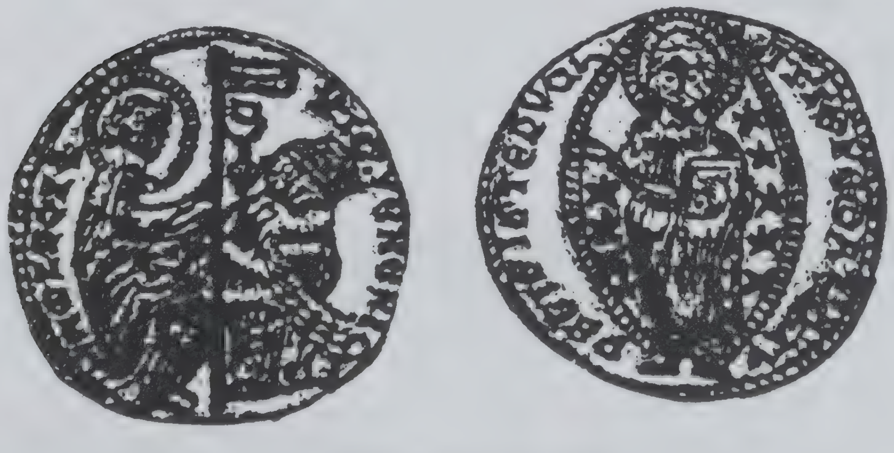
These coins belong to the known typology of the Venetian gold coins discovered elsewhere. But their significance lies in the fact that they represent the richest hoard of Venetian coins in Karnataka.[30] Another Venetian coin belonging to Contarini (1659-74) has been found at Manipura, Udipi taluk of South Kanara district. These coins are circular and have portrayals on both obverse and reverse. They generally weigh 3.4 gms (53 grains) and their diameter is 2.1 cms.

obv: Within a circle of dots, standing Saint Mark handing over the Gonfalon (the flag of Italian Republic) to the Doge (Commander-in-chief); he is receiving it in both hands almost kneeling down; there is a circular nimbus round the head of Saint Mark to show his divinity; on both sides of this portrayal is seen the legend interspersed with stars; the legend gives the name of the Doge, along with epithets:

S M VENET (Sanctus Marcus Venetus); *FRAN DONA* (the name of the Doge); *DUX* (Duke)

rev: Within a circle of dots standing Saint Mark within an oval shaped hallow; his head is covered by a dotted circular nimbus; four stars on the right and five stars on the left within the oval shaped hallow; legend round the coin with some symbols in between; *SIT T XPE DAT TV REGIS ISTE DVCA* (meaning let this duchy which though rulest be dedicated to thee O! Christ).

Because of the religious nature of these gold coins, they became quite popular among the Syrian Christians who made necklaces out of these coins.



Venetian gold coin

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INDEX

Abargarh 362, 363
Abbūru 362
Abdul Rāuf Khan 420, 422, 424
Abdul Razzak 222, 229, 246, 248, 249, 259, 265, 266, 308
Abdul Wali Khan 5, 312, 315
Ābidī 363, 364, 370
abjad 359, 365, 366
abtath 365, 366
Acchina Adhikāri 137
acchina kāṇi 21, 120
acchina moḷe 21, 120
acchu 20, 120, 161, 162
acchu āṇi 21
Acchyutarāya Māḍa 245
Acchyutarāyi 217
Achyutarāya 224, 233, 236, 245, 281-83
Ādavāni honnu (hon) 217, 239, 244
aḍḍa 142, 145, 147, 162, 307-09, 381, 387, 389
Adil Shāhi 341-349, 350, 417, 418, 423-25
Ādoṇi 227, 239, 244, 247
Ādūra paṇam 244
agala Kaṇṭhīrāya haṇa 382
Agrawala, V.S. 1, 10, 25, 32
Ahmadī 360, 362-64, 366, 367, 370
Ahsanabad=Gulbarga 313, 315, 316, 318-24
Akbar 344
Akhtar 362, 364, 374, 375
Akkam 114, 115
Akki Ālūr 82, 87
Allan 15, 25
Altekar, A.S. 1, 4, 6, 8, 62, 114, 131, 132, 177, 178
Āḷupa gadyāṇa 257
Āḷupas 4, 199-206
Āmaṇa; Āmaṇadēva 160, 171, 172
Ambili gadyāṇa 161
Amjad Ali 312, 325, 332, 335, 414, 416
Ānanda 46, 47, 53, 54, 56, 57
Anastasius 82, 84, 89
Ānegondi coins 273
Āṇi 120
Ankuśarāya 218, 219
Annas 418
anrāḍu 412
Antiyakābaraṇan māḍai 412
Antonia 77, 78, 89
Anuvanahaḷḷi 58, 69
Āravīḍu 224, 231, 232, 287, 294
Ardha Kākaṇi 33
Ardha Kārshāpaṇa 33
Ardha Kāṭi gadyāṇa 238
Ardha-māshaka 12
Ardha-paṇa 12
Ardha Sāṇa 32
Ardha Śatamāna 32
Ardhavimśatika 32
Arekāṇi 147, 230, 231, 245, 246
Arekāsu 231
Arevīsa 161, 308, 309
Arthaśāstra 11, 12, 17, 26
Aruṇādri=Tiruvaṇṇāmalai 297

Asaf Jah 416, 424
Ashrafi 217
Asoka 30, 40
āsu 162
Augustus 20, 46, 76, 77, 79, 81, 82, 88, 89
Aurangazeb 413, 418-26
ayars 345
Ayyaṇa 130, 131
Azamnagar Gokak 426

Bādashāhi honnu 217
Bāgalkōṭ 417, 418
Bahāduri pagoda 357
Bāhira gadyāṇa 202, 242
Bahirī 414-16
Bahmani coins 3, 5, 312-39, 342, 351
Bahram 364, 373, 374
Bālakrishṇa 231, 233, 240, 275-77, 280, 281, 385, 386, 389
Ballāḷa II 141, 144, 154
Ballāḷa III 141, 145, 154, 156-58
Ballāvāḍi-70 212
Bāṇa 209-211
Banavāsi 6, 20, 34, 47, 53, 55, 57, 60, 62, 63, 66-68, 86, 92, 95, 214, 215
Bangalore; Bengaḷūr 79, 218, 360, 363, 374, 380, 395
Baṅkāpur 424
Bāquirī 363, 364, 370
Bārakūr 199, 200, 202, 227, 239, 247
Bārakūru gadyāṇa 202, 228, 239
Barbosa 243, 246, 247, 426
Barīd Shahi 4, 424, 425
Barid Shahi Coins 350-54
Barma Bhūpāla 214
Basavaṇṇa 136, 137
Bednur 425
bēḷe 120, 121, 142, 146, 147, 161, 163, 225, 227, 229, 230, 245, 248, 308, 309, 381
Belgaum 128, 425
beḷḷiya gadyāṇa 243
beḷḷiyagammaṭa 120
beḷḷiya honnu 243
Benazir=Hoḷehonnūr 361
Beṇṇemuddenāṇya 240
Beṭṭada Arasu 219
Bhagīratha 93, 94
Bhambhagiri 132, 178
Bhandarkar, D.R. 7, 8, 10, 12
Bhartridāman 408-410
Bhāskarāchārya 161
Bhatkal 214, 308
Bhillama V 160, 164-67, 177
Bhīma 211, 212
Bhīmanahaḷḷi 71
Bhir mound hoard 10, 14, 15, 37, 39
Bhor State treasury 131, 132, 169
Bhūdēvi 234, 298
Bhujabalavīra 133
Bhūlōkamalla 120
Bhuvanaikamalla 128, 133
Bhuvanaikamalla
  Sōmēśvara II 127, 128
Bidar 336, 350, 424
Bidie, G. 2

Bijapur 106, 341, 345, 418, 419, 424
Bijjaḷa II 136
Bombay 183, 188
Brahma 231, 234, 254, 256
Brahma-Saraswati 232
Brown, C.H. 1, 312
Buchanan 387
Bukka I 221, 222, 225, 232, 234, 236, 243, 252-54
Bukka II 232, 236, 253, 258
Burn 312
Byzantine 76, 82, 84, 85, 89

Caeser Frederick 248
Calicut 361, 362, 374
Caligula 77, 78, 89
Canton 407
Caracalla 76, 82, 89
Casting technique 16, 18, 19
Chakra 111, 112, 129, 166, 231, 233, 240, 243, 256, 259, 264, 270, 281, 284, 289, 290, 292, 296, 299, 382, 415
Chakra paṇam 244
Chakra gadyāṇa 240, 243
Chakra varaha 228
Chakravarti, N. 46
Chalamarāya 290
Chalukya 2-4, 6, 101
- of Bādami 91, 98, 103-12, 123
Chālukya of Kalyāṇa 21, 91, 92, 109, 111, 117, 119-36, 141-43, 147, 152, 160, 165, 178
Chālukya Rāma 128
Chāma 163
Chāmuṇḍi
  Śrī Chāmuṇḍi 148, 149, 386, 391-93, 400
Chandravaḷḷi 6, 35, 46, 53, 55, 56, 60, 62, 63, 67, 68, 79, 406, 407
Chāntamūla 41
Chaṭṭarasa 212
Chaṭṭayya III 192
Chattopadhyaya, B.D. 1, 6, 92, 132
Chaukaṭṭukāras 21
Chavula 161
Chavuri 217
Chikka Baḷḷāpur 421
Chikka gadyāṇa 239
Chikkadēvarāja Waḍeyar 379, 385, 386, 397, 398, 420
Chikkarāya 297
Chikka Sindhagi 41-43
Chinchorā 162
Chinese coin 406, 407
Chinna; Chinnam 227-30, 248
Chitradurga 47, 49, 53, 54, 67, 216, 360, 363
Chitradurgada
  Pāḷeyagāraru 217
Chitravāhana I 201
Chōḷa coins 410-13
Chuṭu coins 53-58
Chuṭukulānanda 46, 53-55, 57, 58

Chuṭus 3, 6, 91
Claudius 77, 78, 89
Commodus 84
Constantinople 82
Cunningham, Sir Alexander 11, 15, 25, 27-29

Dabōli 217
Dāma 162
Ḍamaru 35, 231, 255, 284
Dāmasēna 408, 409
dānavamurāri 212
Daṇḍinagōva 92, 95, 212-14
Danish Moin 344
Daśavarma 13
denerii 76, 79, 85
Desikachari, T. 6
Devalajhari hoard 164
Dēvarāya I 222, 232, 236, 259-65, 267
Dēvarāya II 222, 233, 236, 240, 244, 245, 248, 257, 259, 265-72
Dēvarāyi 217
dhāraṇa 104, 105, 307, 308, 342
Dhāravāḍi 217
Dharwar; Dharwad 34, 360, 362, 367, 369, 374, 423
Dhūlikaṭṭa 42
Die-striking technique 16, 20, 21
Dikshit, K.N. 15
Dikshit, M.G. 4, 189, 190
Dilīpa=Īriva Noḷamba 208, 209
Dinakar Rao 115-17, 312, 317, 339, 350
dināra; dinār 98, 313, 381
Dinḍigal 361, 362, 374
Doḍḍa Baḷḷāpur 421
Doḍḍa gadyāṇa 230, 239, 241
Doḍḍa varaha 202, 228, 230, 242
Doge 426
Domingo Paes 248
Drachma; Drachme 114, 162, 407
Dramma 114, 120, 161-63, 407
Droplet technique 16
Duddarasa 209
Duggāṇi 217, 230, 231, 245, 246
Durgā; Durgi 148, 149, 151, 156, 216, 217, 225, 226
Durga Prasad 25, 26, 28, 29
Durgi Pagoḍa; Durgi varaha 216, 217

Ēchi-seṭṭi 137
Elephanta 107, 108
Elliot, Sir Walter 1, 2, 93-95, 103, 111, 124, 136, 149, 190-92, 195, 199
Enkappa Nāyaka 414
Eregaṅga II 101
Ereyanga 141

Faiz Hasar=Gooty 361
faṇam 228, 248, 249, 265, 421, 423
Farrukhī; Feroke 361-64
Farrukhsiyar 421, 424-26
Farrukh-yab Hisar = Chitradurga 360, 376
Fārūquī 367, 368

Fathabad = Daulatabad 313, 316
Ferishtah 329, 342, 351

Gabaru 217
gadyāṇa; gadya; ga 97, 98, 104, 105, 114, 120, 121, 128, 142-46, 153, 161, 163, 200, 202-06, 208, 225, 227-30, 235, 237-45, 248, 307, 308, 380, 411
Gaius 77, 79, 81
Gajabēṇṭekāra 222, 259
Gajabēṇṭekāra hon 244
Gajagaṇḍabhēruṇḍa 244
Gajamalla gadyāṇa 161
Gajapati coins;
  gajapati pagoḍas 129, 273
Gaṇapati 384
Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa 231, 233, 281, 282, 301, 310, 404
Gaṇḍikōṭa 227, 243, 247, 299
Gaṇḍikōṭa Varaha 243, 299
Gaṇēśa 300, 301, 400
Gangana gadyāṇa 143
Gaṅgarāja 143, 148
Gangas, Western
  - of Talkad 87, 97-101
Garuḍa 135, 136, 173, 212, 231-35, 249, 251, 257, 264, 277-79, 284, 285, 289, 291, 294, 295, 299
Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi 46, 47, 62, 66, 69, 70
Gersoppe 214
Gharapuri, Puri 108
ghaṭṭi varaha 202, 242, 247
Ghorpaḍes of Mudhōḷ 417
giḍḍakaṇṭhīrāya haṇa 387
Goa 189, 191, 194
Gokak 425
Golkonda 419
Gonalhal 71
Gonfalon 427
Gooty 361, 374
Greek copper coin 407
Guhalladeva 17
Gulbarga hoard 35, 37, 38
guḷige; guḷike 120, 380, 381
guḷikai paṇam 244
Gunji 418
Gupta, P.L. 1, 5, 12, 25, 31, 32, 37, 39, 40, 45, 47, 53, 54, 95, 132, 173, 178, 196, 199, 258, 333, 407, 410, 414
Gurramkoṇḍa 361
Gururāja Bhatt, P. 4, 199, 201
Gutta 211, 212
Guttara Bhīma 212
Gutti 227, 239, 244, 247
Gutti hon 239, 244

H.A.L. Airport hoard 79, 81, 82
Hadināḍu 379
hāga, also see pāga 98, 120, 121, 142, 145, 146, 161-63, 217, 225, 248, 308, 309, 387, 389
Hāgalavāḍi 215

Haidar Ali; Hyder Ali; Haidar; Hyder 3, 21, 356-62, 367, 368, 379, 397, 399, 414, 421, 425
Haidari 363, 364, 368
Haidarnagar = Nagar 425
Halavāgalu 41
Haḷēbīḍ 153, 155
Haḷiyārada gadyāṇa 143
Hampi 224, 227, 235, 300
haṇa; paṇa - also see paṇa 98 99, 243, 244, 257, 258, 267, 307-09, 381, 382, 385, 389
Hanumān 195, 196, 226, 231-35, 243, 244, 249-53, 293, 294, 296, 297, 400
Hanumantarāyi varaha 243, 253
Haradanagere 62, 66, 69
Harihara I 221, 222, 225-27, 232, 234, 236, 243, 249-52, 254
Harihara II 222, 228, 232, 234, 236, 240, 241, 245, 249, 254-58
Harmal hoard 254
Hasan Rumikhan 345
Hassan 407
Hastimalla 99
Hawkes 2, 356
Hayavadana Rao, C 6, 306
Hazarat 316
Hazarat Rāja Bāgh-sawar (sawar) Tajuddin 417
hēmācchu 20, 162
Hēmādri 175, 177
Hēmakuppaṭi 137
Hēmangēri 137
Hēmaṇṇa 217
Hemmāḍidēva = Śivachitta 187-89
Henderson 1, 3, 356, 358, 359, 361
Heras 5, 273
Hercules 84
Hijri 364, 365, 367, 415
Hindu Honnu 217
Hippargi 62, 63, 68, 70
Hiraṇya 12
Hiraṇyapiṇḍas 7, 8
Hiriya nijaghaṭṭi varaha 240
Hiṭṭeyarasu 209
hiṭṭuvaḷi gadyāṇa 242
Hoḷe Honnūr 361, 362
Hoḷehon 145
hon; hons; honnu; honnuhaṇa 120, 202, 239, 243, 244, 307-10, 342, 345
Hormuz Kaus 350, 354
Hosa Ikkēri varaha 387
Hosakoṭe 421
Hosaḷakki gadyāṇa 144
Hosur 423
Hoysaḷa; Hoysaḷas 3, 4, 6, 21, 141
Hoysaḷa coins 141-58
Hoysaḷa gadyāṇa 143, 144
Hubli 424
Hultzsch 47, 122, 127, 151, 356
Hyderabad 57, 66, 176, 312

Ibrahim Nauras 342
Ikkeri 283

Ikkēri pagoḍa 217
Ikkēri varaha 307, 309, 387
Ilahi 344
Imāmī 363, 364, 369
Iphapi 418
Iriva Noḷamba
 = Dilīpa 208, 209
Irungōḷa II 212
Īśvaradatta 408, 410
Italy 426
Iyengar, Srinivasa
 Raghava (S.R.) 5, 163, 175

Jackson, R.P. 3, 356
Jafarī 363, 364, 370, 371
Jagadēkamalla 122, 124-27, 133, 152, 153
Jagadēkamalla I
 = Jayasimha II 122, 126
Jagadēkamalla II 121, 126, 127
Jagadēkamalla III 126
Jagadēvarāya 219
Jajjala 177, 178
Jaṭāmahi 217
Jayakēśi I 182-85, 190
Jayakēśi II 182, 184-86, 190
Jayakēśi III 182-84, 186, 190
Jayasimha 134
Jayasimha II 122-24, 126, 128, 130, 131
jiṭāl 230, 231, 248, 265
Jnānēśvari 163
Jungaladēvi 209
Jung Bahadur 216
Justinus 89

Kaḍali 217
Kadambas 3, 6
 - of Banavāsi 91-95, 103, 111
 - of Goa 4, 93, 94, 182-93
 - of Hāngal 195-97
Kai-yuan 406
Kākani; Kākinī 12, 33, 161
Kākarāya 116
Kākatiyas 175, 176, 258
Kalachuri; Kalachuris 105, 115, 136, 137
Kaḷachuri coins 109
Kalalaya Mahāraṭhi 46, 47
Kaḷanju 114, 115, 411
Kalasa 256
Kāli 254
Kalimullah 350, 351, 353
Kalimullah Shah 337-39
Kaḻḻadramma 407
Kallukunṭe 217
Kalyāṇa; Kaylāṇi 74, 136, 137, 416, 417
Kāmadēva 182, 192, 193
Kam Bakhsh 424, 426
Kammaṭada āṇi 21, 120
Kammaṭēśvara 120
Kampaṇṇa 222
Kampili 413
Kangavarman 93
Kāṇi; Kāgiṇi 120, 121, 142, 147, 230, 231, 245, 246
Kānkurtī 424
Kaṇṇānūr 155
Kaṇṭhīrava Narasarāja
 Waḍeyar 379-85, 387, 397, 399
Kaṇṭhīrāyaguḷige; Kam gu 380

Kaṇṭhīrāya haṇa 381, 382, 387, 397
Karkka II 115-17
Karṇaśōbhana 7, 8
Kārshāpaṇa 10, 11, 13, 32-34, 97, 98
Kartār Ikkērivaraha 387
Kārtikēya 104, 105, 110, 384
Karunāḍa bhūpa 130
Karūr 152, 385
Karwar 47, 54, 74
Kasim Khan 420
Kāsu 114, 115, 162, 217, 227, 230, 231, 245, 308, 309, 381, 390-95, 399, 401, 411, 412
Kaṭaka gadyāṇa 120, 121
Kaṭakapriya gadyāṇa 120
Kaṭhāri Ankuśa gadyāṇa 240
Kāṭi 227, 228, 230, 238
Kāṭi gadyāṇa 202, 238, 239
Kāṭi haṇa 238
Kāṭi hon; Kāṭi honnu 202, 238, 243, 244
Kāṭi varaha 238
Katryal 84
Kauṭilya 11, 12, 16, 26
Kavadā 162
Kāvēri 177, 178
Kavi Āḷupēndra 202
Kāzimī 364, 371
Keḷadi 306, 307, 309
Kempe Gauda 218
Khaḍga 231, 233
Khāḍi 7, 8
Khaliquābād = Diṇḍigal 361
Khare, G.H. 4, 131, 185, 196, 341
Khizri 364, 371
Khwurshed-Sawād
= Dharwar 360
Kīrtivarma 111, 112
Kīrtivarma I 107
Kochchaḍaiyan 201
Koḍūr hoard; Koḍūr treasure trove 117, 122, 124, 125, 127, 130, 131, 133
Kolar 420, 421
Komara gadyāṇa 98
Koṇḍāpur 18, 42, 66-68
Kongaṇivarman 97
Kongavarma 99
Kongu country 385
Konkaṇa-goa 182
Kosambi, D.D. 15, 25, 30
Krishṇa (god) 233, 292, 385, 388, 413
Krishṇa (Sēvuṇa king) 160-62, 167-69, 178
Krishṇa I 115
Krishna, M.H. 2, 3, 33, 34, 47, 67, 69, 79, 94, 98, 99, 111, 117, 124, 127, 128, 134, 142, 147, 154, 156, 282, 285, 291, 310, 382, 397, 412
Krishṇadēvarāya 223, 224, 228, 233, 235, 236, 239-43, 274-81, 291, 292, 294
Krishṇalā 9
Krishnamurthy, R 1, 72, 208
Krishṇa Nāyaka 414
Krishṇarāja 115
Krishṇarāja rūpaka 162
Krishnarāja Waḍeyar II 386, 397, 398

Krishnarāja Waḍeyar III 379, 380, 386-404
Kriṣhnarāja Waḍeyar IV 379
Krishna Sastry 72, 117, 125, 127, 130
Kuḷagadyāṇa 242
Kulōttunga I 411, 413
Kulōttuṅgamāḍai 411
Kundavarma 201
Ḳundur hoard 67, 68
Kuṇigala haṇa 218
Kuppaṭi 137
Kūṭarūpa 12

Lagdunum mint 82
Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka 222, 227
Lakshṇādhyaksha 11, 17
Lakshmaṇa 131, 132, 288
Lakshmēśvar 105
Lakshmi 169, 232-34, 256, 259, 277, 284, 296, 382, 401
Lakshmīdēva 132, 178
Lakshmidēvi 131-33, 178
Lakshmī Narasimha 232, 240, 254, 385, 397
Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa 232-34, 240, 254, 296
Lakshminarayana Rao 306
Lakshumā 169
Larins 341, 342, 346, 347
Leo I 82-84, 89
Linga 126
Lingsugur 85
Livia 88
Lohadramma 407
Lokkiyacchina gadyāṇa 121
Lokkiacchu 20
Lokkigadyāṇa
Lokkiguṇḍi gadyāṇa; 120, 143, 161
Lokkiguṇḍi 120, 121, 143
Lokki pon 121, 145
Lokki Śrāheya gadyāṇa 121
Lucius 77, 79, 81
Lysimachos 407

Macdowal 1
māḍa; māḍai 227, 229, 230, 245, 411
Madhulinga Nāyaka 214, 215
Madurai 239, 240, 247, 385
Mahādēva 166, 169-72, 175-77
Mahādēvī 163
Mahāraṭhi coins 45-53
Mahāraṭhis 4, 6
Mahēndra II 208
Maile 76
Malahara (Malavara) Māri 182, 183, 185, 197
Malaharamāri Nishkas 192
Malhārashāhi rupee 417, 418
Malhār Rao Hoḷkar 417
Malik Kafur 176, 200
Maḷkhēḍ 115, 116, 424
Mallikārjuna 223, 233, 236, 271-73
Mallu Adil 342
Māna Chuṭuka 57
Mānapur 117
Mānaumichaupada 239, 240, 244
Mānavya 134
Manehaṇa 244
Mangaḷāpura 201
Mangaḷēśa 106

Mangalore; Mangaḷūr 199, 200, 202, 227, 239, 247
Mangaḷūru gadyāṇa 202, 239
Mangarasa 246
manjāḍi 114, 115, 411
Manucci 426
Mānyakhēṭa 117
Mārasimha II 98, 101
Marāṭhas 420, 423, 425
Marcian 89
Marcopolo 426
Marican 82, 83
Marsden 356
Māshas; māshaka 10-12, 32, 33, 165, 166, 168, 175, 418
Maski 6, 39
Matnoor 126
Maulūdi 365, 370, 372, 373
Maurya; Mauryan 30-35, 41-43, 45, 63, 65
Mauryas of Konkaṇa 108
Mayili; Meilee 389, 390
Mayilikāsu 391, 392, 394, 395
mayūra gadyāṇa 128
Mayūraśarma 95
Mayūravarma 196
Mehrabi 419
Mirashi 4, 62, 57
Mitchiner 1
Moharu 217
Moraes 91, 93, 94, 183, 189-92, 194, 195
Muazzam 423
Mudakavi 95, 212
Muḍānanda 46, 53-57
Mudduvīrappa Nāyaka 215, 216
Mudgal 418, 419
Muḍigoṇḍaśōlanmāḍai 411
Muḍiyappa Nayaka I 216
Mudiyappa Nayaka II 216
Mudre 163
Muḍghal coins 419-426
muhar 342, 425
Mukherjee, B.N. 1, 16
Muḷabagal 423
Muhammadabad
= Bīdar 313, 324, 325, 327, 328, 330, 331, 333, 335, 425
Muhammad-bin-Tughlak 424, 425
Muhmud Gawan 333
Muhammad, Prophet 345, 346, 369, 370
Mundy, Peter 308
Mupāga; muppāga 229, 308, 309
Musa al Kazim 364
Mushṭarī 364
Mustafābād = Belgaum 425
Mustafakhan 424
Muzaffarnagas = Maḷkhēḍ 424
Mysore 84, 380, 385, 388, 395, 398
Mysore Waḍeyars 2-4, 6, 21, 219, 379-404

Nāgamangala 219
Nagar = Bednūr 21, 309, 357, 360, 362, 363, 366, 368, 369, 374, 376
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa 41
Nagire 214
nakara 196
Nandi 231-35, 254, 276, 286, 400
Nandigadyāṇa 208

Narain, A.K. 1
Narasa Nāyaka 223
Narasimha 144, 154, 231, 234, 256, 382
Narasimha I 141, 150-54, 225
Narasimha II 141, 143, 154
Narasimha III 145, 155, 156
Narasimhachar, R 3, 62, 406
Narasimha gadyāṇa 144
Narasimha Murthy, A.V. 1, 4, 6
narkāsu 412
Nārāyaṇa 234, 256, 259
Nasik 115
Nastaliq 344
Nath, B.B. 177, 178
Nauraspur 342
Navakōṭi Nārāyaṇa 379
navilacchu 20
navila pon;
  navilacchina pon 104, 121
Nawab of Arcot 420
  - of Kalyāṇa 416, 417
  - of Savaṇūr 423-25
Nawab Syed
  Ibrahim Husain
  Mir Kala Khan II 416
Nāyakas of Keḷadi 306-11
  - of Surapura 413-16
Nazarbar 360
Nelakandanapalli 51
Nellore 239, 240, 247
Nero 76
Niḍugal Chōḷas 212
Nigaḷankamalla 214
Nija ghaṭṭivaraha 242, 247
Nijagali 101
Nilakanta Sastri 1
Nisbet 417
Nishānikhalu 217
Nishka; Nishkas 7-10, 13, 97, 142, 143, 161, 163, 380
Nītiṃārga Ereganga 97
Nizam Shah 331
Nizam Shahi 350, 424, 425
Noga haṇa 244
Noḷamba Nārāyaṇa 208, 09
Noḷambas 207-209
Noḷambavāḍigoṇḍa 150
Nushratabad = Dharwad 422

Oṭhmānī 364

Pāda Kārsthāpaṇa 11, 33
Pāda-paṇa 12
Pādas 9
Pāda Śatamāna 32
Pāda Viṁsatika 32
Padmaṭankas 91-95, 131, 132, 161, 172, 226
Pāga; ḥāga 156, 227, 229, 230
pagōḍa 227, 228, 230, 257, 360, 362, 381, 423
Pakumavāḍi 209
pala 104, 105
paḷangāsu 412
Palasige 12000 182
Pāḷēgāras
  - of Channapaṭṭaṇa 219
  - of Chikkabaḷḷāpura
    and Doḍḍabaḷḷāpura 218
  - of Chitradurga 216, 217, 239
  - of Hāgalavāḍi 215, 216
  - of Kōḍikoṇḍa 218

Paṇa; Paṇas; Paṇam;
  Paṇams; haṇa 11, 12, 30, 32, 98, 104, 105, 120, 121, 142, 145-47, 153, 154, 156, 161, 162, 202, 203, 205, 208, 218, 225, 227-30, 239, 244-49, 273, 357, 358, 360-64, 368, 380, 381, 389
Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya 199, 201, 202
Pāṇḍya 199-201
Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya 199-201, 203-05
Pāṇḍya gadyāṇas 202
Pāṇḍyas of Madurā 199-202
Pange gadyāṇa 161
Pāṇini 9-11, 26
Panish, C.K. 414, 417
Pāpanāyaki honnu 217
Paramēśvara 117
Parāśara Mādhavīya 246
Parasidh 166
paraśu 231, 260
Pardaos; pardai 228, 246, 248, 249
partarb; partarbs 228, 248, 265, 342
Pārvati 237, 255, 260, 270, 277, 284, 310, 311, 357, 387
Paṭan; Paṭṭan
  = Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa 360, 370-76
pāṭi gadyāṇa 241
Paṭṭadakal (kallu) 6, 60, 104
Paula Turner 72
Pearse, General 53, 54
Penukoṇḍa; Penugoṇḍa 224, 227, 235, 247, 288
Permāḍidēva = Śivachitta 187
Persian Hercules 321
Persian Sigloi 15
Peshawar hoard 30
Pietro della Velle 347
Pliny 74
Pofali 162
pon; hon; ponnu; honnu;
  pon gadyāṇa 104, 121, 142, 145, 161, 200, 208, 227, 230, 241, 411
Poruttha dramma 162
Posaḷēśvara 156
Prabhu, Mukunda;
  Prabhu, M.M. 4, 152, 197, 199, 205, 207, 209, 212, 264, 286, 293, 301
Praḷayagalura 217
Prasannamitra 20
pratāpa, also see pardao,
  partarb 277, 228, 230, 241, 243, 248, 249, 307
pratāpa gadyāṇa 241
pratāpa haṇas 244
Prinsep, James 1, 12, 13, 417
Prithvipati 99
Priyakāvēri 217
Priyaśrāhi gadyāṇa 161
Ptolemy 73, 199
Pulakēśi I 104-07, 108, 111, 112
Pulakēśi II 107-09, 112
Puḷumāvi I 62, 63, 66, 67
Puḷumāvi IV 68
punch-marked coins 6, 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 25-43, 61, 92
Punch-mark technique 16

Punnāḍu 99
Purāṇa 11
Purṇaiah 379, 382, 386, 387, 398, 399
Puttaḷi 217
Puttaṇṇa, M.S. 217

Qutb 364, 375, 376
Qutb Shāhi coins 5
Qutb Shāhis 4, 342

Rāchamalla Satyavākya 99
Rāchapaṭṇam hoard 163, 170, 175, 176
Rafiud-Darjat 423
Raghu 94
Rahpak 418
Rahatis 377
Raichur hoard 38, 39
Rājādhirāja II 413
Rāja Jagadēva 420
Rājānka 26
Rāja Rāja I 411, 412
Rāja Rājanmaḍai 411
Rāja rupāyi 388
Rājataranginṇi 129
Rāja Waḍeyar 379
Rājēndra I 413
Rāma 131, 154
Rāmachandra 160, 162, 169, 171, 173-78
Rāmachandra I 302
Rāmdurga 213
Rāmdurg hoard 92, 95
Rāmānujāchārya 157
Rāmarāja 233, 236, 286, 287, 291
Rāmarāja Venkaṭarāya 299
Rāma Rao, M 4, 5, 46, 49, 51, 54, 62, 121, 126
Rāmarāya 299
Rāmarāya Venkaṭādri 233, 237, 291
Rāmarāyi 217
Rāma-Sītā 233
Rāmaṭanka; Rāmaṭanki 132, 288
Ramesan N 5
Ramesh K.V. 199, 201, 214
Ranavikrama 106
Raño Sātakarṇi 62-70
Rapson 1, 15, 46, 47, 53, 54, 62, 115, 199
Rāshtrakūṭa coins 114-18
Rāshṭrakūṭas 3, 4, 6, 160, 424
Rāsipaṇam 244
Ravivarman 93
Rawlinson, H.G 72
Rāya gadyāṇa 161
Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva 136, 137
Rekha gadyāṇa 242
Rēkhai pon 242
Repousse technique 16, 20
Rice, B.L.; Rice, Lewis 2, 76, 381, 389
Rigveda 7, 8
Rohtak 19
Roman coins 2, 72-89, 407
Roman Denarii 6
Rudramadēvi 175, 176
Rudrasēna 408, 409
Rudrasimha II 408-410
Rūka 162, 227, 229, 245
Rukma 7, 8
Rūpadarśaka 17, 18
Rūpaka 105
rūpya; rūpyaka; rūpa 12, 162

Sadakana 45
Saḍakana Chuṭu Mahāraṭhi 46, 50, 51
Sadakana Kalalaya Mahāraṭhi 46, 49, 50
Sadakana Kanha Mahāraṭhi puta 46, 51
Sadāśiva Nāyaka 283, 291, 307, 309, 310, 357
Sadāśivarāya 233, 236, 242, 244, 283-86, 288, 291, 309
Sadiqi 362-64, 366, 367
Sahani 19
Sakkarepaṭṭaṇa 362
Sakkar Kōṭ 362, 363
Salāmābād = Satyamangalam 361
Sāḷuva 231, 412
Sāḷuva Malla 214
Sāḷuva Narasimha 233
sāmantagaruḍa 212
sāmantakēsari 210, 211
Samharta-nāḍu 209
samudāya gadyāṇa 242
Sāṇa 10
Saṅgama 221, 223, 231, 232
Sanghāṅka 26
śaṅkha 106, 129, 231, 233, 240, 256, 264, 270, 284, 290, 292, 296, 299, 382, 415
Saṇṇagiri 217
saṇṇapratāpa 228, 243
sanna Pratāpa gadyāṇa 202
Sannati 40, 41, 60, 62, 63, 65, 66, 69, 89
Saptakōṭīśvara 182
Śāradā; Śāradāmbā 376, 377
Sarasvati 234, 254, 256, 341
Sarma, I.K. 1, 62, 63
Sastry, P.V.P. 101
Sātakarṇi II 46, 62, 63, 65, 66
Śaṭamāna; Śatamānas 9, 10, 13, 32
Satara 362
Satara hoard 93
Sātavāhana (king) 62, 63, 65
Sātavāhana; Sātavāhanas 3, 6, 21, 34, 41, 42, 45, 47, 53, 60-63, 65, 70, 74, 91
Sātavāhana coins 4, 19, 60-70
Satyamangalam 361, 363, 376, 385
Satyamurthy 1, 72
Satyāśraya 107, 108, 109
Satyavākya Permmānaḍi 98
Savaṇūr 424
Septimus Severus 82, 85, 89
Seshadri, M. 407
Sēuṇadeva 181
Sēvuṇa; Sēvuṇas
  - of Dēvagiri 3-5, 91, 131, 132, 141, 143, 160-78, 249, 418
Sewell 72, 75, 76
Shahajanabad Rupee 417
Shah Alam 388, 421, 424-26
Shah Jahan 419, 421
Shama Shastry 12
Shamsuddin Daud 321, 322
Somesekhara Sharma 175
Shasṭhadēva 192
Shastry, Ajay Mitra 1, 165, 172, 174
Shekels 14, 15
Sherwani, H.K. 312
Shōḍashabhāgika 12
Sholapur 345

siddhāya 97, 98
Siddhēśvaracharitramu 176
Siddiqui, A.H. 312, 323, 324, 336, 346, 350, 351, 354, 362
Signati argenti 14
Simhavarman 97
Singhal, C.R. 312, 321, 420
Singhaṇa 132, 160-62, 178
Singhaṇa II 166, 167, 177
Singhāni 163
Sirā 420, 421
Sirāhi faṇam 421
Sircar, D.C. 54, 116, 117
Siri Pulumāvi 70, 71
Siri Sātakarṇi 70, 71
Siśunāga 30
Sītā 288
Śiva 154, 218, 231, 234, 255, 260, 270, 277, 284, 310, 311, 357, 387
Śivachitta Permāḍi 182, 186-90
Śivalānanda 53, 54, 57, 58
Śivalinga 383, 385, 400
Śiva-Pārvati 231, 232, 234, 261
Śivappa Nāyaka 310
Śivarāyi honnu 217
Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi 63
Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi II 70
Śiva Śrī Śātakarṇi 62
Smith, Mervyn 47, 54
Smith, Vincent A;
 Smith, V.A. 1, 6, 14, 76, 125, 194
Sobhana Gokhale 165
Sohanlal Sisodia 94, 95, 208, 359, 376, 389, 420
Somaśēkhara Nāyaka 308, 309
Sōmēśvara 141, 145, 154-56
Sōmēśvara III 134
Sōmēśvara IV 120
Sōmēśvara-Paṇḍita 131
Sonda (Svādi) 214, 215
Sonepur treasury 166
Sōvadēva 192
Sōvidēva Tribhuvanamalla 193
Sōyidēva 190-92, 201, 205
Speight, E.E. 312
Srīdēvi 234, 298
Śrī Malege Bhairava 182-184
Śringēri 376, 377
Śri Pṛithvīvallabha 106
Śrīpurusha 100
Srī Rāma 231, 232, 235, 287, 288
Śrī Rāmānujāchārya 141
Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa 157, 177, 178, 360, 362, 363, 366, 368, 369, 371, 379, 380, 385
Śrīrangarāya I 233, 235, 237, 243, 245, 291-93
Śrīrangarāya II 224, 234, 237, 241, 297, 298
Śrīrangarāya III 224, 233, 235, 237, 241, 299, 300
Śrī Sātakarṇi 69
Śrīvara 140
Subbāchāri 309
subbarāya paṇams;
 Subbarāya haṇa 218, 401
Subramanyam, R 5, 176
śuddha varaha 228, 242, 243, 247
Sūḍi 21, 120, 132
Sultans of Bijapur 413, 419
Sulur 385
Sunda 93
Sunet 19

Surapura Nāyakas 413-16
suvarṇa; suvarṇas 9, 10, 12, 13, 104, 105, 114, 161, 163
Suvarṇādāya 226, 245
Syed Mohammad Shah Khairuddin 416, 417

Tacitus 74, 75
Tāḍapatri 227, 239, 244
Tāḍapatri honnu (hon) 217, 239, 244
Tahmatan Shah 321
Taila II 117, 131, 134
Taila III 137
Taj jahan 345
Talakāḍu; Talkāḍ 20, 86-88, 100, 142, 148, 273, 301
Talakāḍugoṇḍa 142, 148, 149
Ṭanka; Ṭankah; Ṭanke; Ṭankas 161, 163, 313, 329
Ṭankasāle adhikāri 309
Ṭankasāle galli 416
Ṭankasāle kallu 309
Tārā; Tār, Tāre; Taurh 142, 146, 147, 229-31, 245, 248, 250, 265, 266, 308, 381
Tarhala hoard 67, 68
Tarapore 312, 321
taruṇavasanta 211
Taxila hoard 29
Taylor, Medows 414
Taylor G.P. 3, 341, 356, 420
Thakkūra Pherū 160, 162
Thanwala 312
Theobold 25, 27
Theodosius 82-84, 89
Thomas, Edward 15
Thurston, Edgar 2, 356
Tiberius 20, 74, 76-79, 81, 82, 85, 88, 89
Timmarasu 223, 279, 280
Tippūrina gadyāṇa 144
Tipu Sultan; Tipu 3, 21, 356-77, 379, 398, 399, 414, 423
Tīrthahaḷḷi 407, 410
Tirukkōyilūr 157
Tirumala 224, 235
Tirumalarāya 233, 235, 236, 240
Tirumalarāya I 287-91
Tirupati 227, 232, 239-41, 244, 247, 274, 292
Tirupati coin 241
Tirupati haṇa 240, 244
Tirupati Venkaṭēśa 228
Tōyimadēva 196
Traikūṭakas 95
Trailōkyamalla 131, 133
Trailōkyamalla Sōmēśvara I 127
Tribhuvanamalla 120, 121
Tribhuvanamalla Śōyidēva 182
Trimāsha 33
Tripuri 177
Trisāṇa 32
triśūla 130, 184, 195
Tri-vimśatika 32
Tufnell, R.H.C. 1, 2, 356
Tughra 344
Tuḷuva 223, 231, 232, 273.
Turamare vishaya 211

Udyāvara 200
Umāmahēśvara 254, 276
Uṇḍige 21, 120

Uttama Choḷa 412
Uttavōja 21, 120, 132

Vaḍagaon Mādhavapuri; Vaḍagaon 6, 35, 42, 60, 85
Vāgaṇageri 413
Vairigajakēsari 209, 210
Valentine 414
Varaha; Varāha 98, 99, 103-05, 111, 142, 144, 147, 149, 153, 154, 156, 161, 202, 217, 227-30, 238, 239, 241-43, 245, 248, 249, 253, 255, 256, 259, 260, 265, 273, 274, 276, 281, 283, 284, 288, 291, 294, 298-300, 306-08, 310, 380, 381, 385-387
Varaha gadyāṇa 144, 202, 241
Varāhavatāra; Varāha 123, 128, 171, 231, 233
Varāṭadēśa 177
Varthema 229, 247-49, 308
Varttaka Lokki gadyāṇa 120, 121
Vasco da Gama 247
Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi 19, 62, 67
Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi 67, 68
Venetian coins 426, 427
Venkaṭādri 291
Venkaṭappa Nāyaka 307, 310, 311, 414, 415
Venkaṭapati; Venkaṭapatirāya 234, 237, 291, 311
Venkaṭapatirāya I 224, 243
Venkaṭapatirāya II 224, 234, 235, 237, 241, 243, 294-97
Venkaṭapatirāya III 241, 298, 299
Venkataramanayya, N 175, 176
Venkaṭarāya varaha 243
Venkaṭēśa 234, 298
Venkaṭēśvara 231-35, 239-41, 243, 274, 275, 287, 292, 294, 300
Vesta 78
Vīchaṇa 177
Victory 83
Vidyāraṇya 221, 225
Vijayanagara 2-4, 6, 21, 103, 151, 216, 307-11, 380, 382, 396, 397, 413, 424
Vijayanagara coins 4, 5, 221-302
Vijayarāya 222, 258
Vijayarāya I 232, 233, 236, 264
Vijayarāya II 236, 271
Vijayasēna 408
Vikrama Chōḷa 411, 413
Vikramāditya 104, 119, 210, 211
Vikramāditya I 109-12
Vikramāditya II 105, 110
Vikramāditya V 130, 134
Vikramāditya VI 21, 109, 229, 128-34, 169, 178
Vimśatika 11, 32
vīṇā 256
Vinayāditya 141, 147
Vinayapiṭaka 10
Vīrabhadra 254
Vīrabhadra Nāyaka 308
Vīradāman 408

Vīra Kulaśēkhara 205
Vīra Narasimha 233, 236, 273, 274, 280, 301
Vīrapuram 42, 66
Vīrarāya paṇams;
  Vīrarāyi haṇas 153, 154, 156, 244, 302
Virūpāksha 223, 288
vīsa 104, 105, 120, 121, 142, 145, 147, 161, 163, 225, 227, 229, 248, 308, 309
Vishṇu 171, 231, 233, 234, 284, 292, 296, 357
Vishṇukuṇḍins 106, 107
Vishṇuvardhana 141-43, 147-50, 153, 157, 225
Viśvasēna 408-10
Viśvasimha 408, 409
vyāḷa 233, 273

Walsh 25, 26, 28, 29
Walve hoard 134
Wanaparthi 414
Warmington, E.H. 72, 75
Western Kshatrapa coins 407-10
Wheeler 35, 46, 47, 55, 56, 62, 72, 75, 79
Whitehead, R.B. 420
Whittel 312
Wiggin, K.W. 417
Wilson, H.H. 12, 13
Windeham 414

Yādavas 111
Yadurāya 379
Yajna Śrī - Sātakarṇi 63, 68, 70, 71
Yaśōdāman 408, 410
Yaudheya coin mould 20
Yazdani, G 39, 350, 354
Yeshwantapura 76, 79, 81
Yusuf Adil Shah 342

Zafarābad
  = Bīdar 425
  = Gurramkoṇḍa 361
  = Mercara 361
Zeno 82, 84, 89
Zohra 362, 364, 373

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